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BACON'S ESSAYS

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BACON'S ESSAYS

WITH

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEX

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ESSAYS

XXX

Of Regiment of Health

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physick : a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physick to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it,* than this, *I find 5 no offence of this, therefore I may use it.* For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still ; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any 10 great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest

THERE is a wisdom in this beyonde the rules of phisicke ; a mans owne observation, what he findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best phisick to preserue healt^he, but it is a safer conclusion to say, this agreeth well wth me, therefore I will continue it : I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it ; for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, w^{ch} are owing a man till his age ; discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same thinges : still, beware of any sūdaine change in any greate pointe of diet : and if necessity inforce

to it. For it is a secret, both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so as, if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquiries, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action. For those that put their bodies to endure

it fit the rest to it: to be freeminded and cheerfully disposed, at howres of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting: if you fly phisicke in healthe altogether, it will be to strong for your boddy when you shall neede it: if you make it to familiar it will worke no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh: despise no newe accident in the body, but aske opinion of it: in sickness principally respecte healthe, and in

in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme : use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating ; watching and sleep, but rather sleep : sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature be cherished and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease ; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper ; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort, and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

health action : for those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet, and good tending : Physicians, are some of them so pleasing to the humors of the patient, that they presse not the true cure of the disease. and some others so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient : take one of a middle temper, and forget not to call aswell the best acquainted with your body as the best reputed of for his faculty.

Of Suspicion

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds,—they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded. For they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with
 5 business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures: as in the example of
 10 Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout. And in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination whether they be likely or no. But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast.

15 There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are
 20 Saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends,

and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide as, if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. 25

Suspitions that the mind of itself gathers, are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects. For thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures. For they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licenzia fede*, as if Suspicion did give a passport to Faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself. 35

Of Discourse

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true. As if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought.
 5 Some have certain commonplaces and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety : which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous.

The honourablest part of the talk is to give the occasion ; and again to moderate, and pass to somewhat else :
 10 for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary, and intermingle

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to holde all arguments, then of Iudgment in discerning what is true ; as if it were a praise to knowe what might be saide, and not what should be thought ; some haue certaine common places, and theames, wherein they are good, and want variety :
 w^{ch} kinde, of Poverty is for the most parte tedious, and now, and then ridiculous : the honorablest parte of talke is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate, and passe to somewhat else : It is good to vary, and mixe speache of the present occasion wth argu-

speech of the present occasion with arguments ; tales with reasons ; asking of questions with telling of opinions ; and jest with earnest ; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it ; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled :

Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltiness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much ; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh. For he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome ; for that is fit for a poser : and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on ; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards.

ments ; tales with reasons : asking of questions with telling of opinions : and jest with earnest : but some things are privileged from jest, namely, Religion, matters of state, great persons, all mens present business of Importaunce, and any case that deserveth pitty : He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much, especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the party of whom he asketh : for he shall giue them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather know,

If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that
 40 you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another
 time, to know that you know not.

Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well
 chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must*
needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself: and
 45 there is but one case wherein a man may commend him-
 self with a good grace; and that is in commending
 virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue where-
 unto himself pretendeth.

Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly
 50 used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming
 home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the West
 part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but
 kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask
 of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly,*
 55 *was there never a flout or dry blowe given?* To which
 the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.*
 The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good*
dinner.

Discretion of speech is more than eloquence: and to
 60 speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than
 to speak in good words or in good order.

A good continued speech, without a good speech of
 interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply, or
 second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth

ledge: if sometimes you dissemble your knowledge of that you
 are thought to knowe, you shall be thought another time to knowe,
 that wth you knowe not; speache of a mans selfe is not good
 often; and there is but one thing wherein a man may commend
 himselfe wth good grace, and that is commending vertue in another;
 especially if it be such a vertue as wherevnto himselfe pretendeth:
 Discretion of speache is more then eloquence, and to speake
 agreeably to him wth whome we deale, is more then to speake in
 good wordes, or in good order: a good continued speache, without

shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome ; to use none at all, is blunt.

a good speache of Interloquution sheweth slownes ; and a good second speache without a good set speache sheweth shallownes. to use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, and to use none at all is blunt.

Of Plantations

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroica works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer. For I may justly account new plantations to be the children of
5 former kingdoms.

I like a plantation in a pure soil, that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation.

Planting of countries is like planting of woods. For
10 you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected,
15 as far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther.

It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant. And not only so, but it spoileth
20 the plantation. For they will ever live like rogues, and

not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.

In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand; as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year: as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour: but with peas and beans you may begin; both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest: as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like.

The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town, that is, with certain allowance; and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private.

Consider likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation: so it

be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business ; as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams
 60 whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not
 65 fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground. For the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.

70 For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel ; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and his service before their
 75 eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number. And let
 80 those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants ; for they look ever to the present gain.

Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength, and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution.

85 Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company ; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably : but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury.

90 It hath been a great endangering to the health of some

plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like commodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream than along it. It concerneth likewise the health of the 95 plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary.

If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and 100 graciously, with sufficient guard, nevertheless. And do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies; but for their defence, it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and 10 commend it when they return.

When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men, that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the 110 world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness. For, beside the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

Of Riches

I CANNOT call riches better than the Baggage of Virtue. The Roman word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to Virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march.
 5 Yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory.

Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and*
 10 *what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them, or a power of dole, and a donative of them, or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned
 15 prices are set upon little stones and rarities, and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? but then, you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, *Riches are as a stronghold in*
 20 *the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently

expressed, that it is *in imagination*, and not always in fact. For certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out.

Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them : but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus. *In studio rei amplificande, apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati queri.* Harken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches : *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.* The poets feign that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly, but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot ; meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly, but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devil. For when riches come from the Devil (as by fraud, and oppression, and unjust means) they come upon speed.

The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet it is not innocent ; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches ; for it is our great mother's blessing the earth's : but it is slow. And yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman of England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry ; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that

himself came very hardly to little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly.

The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things chiefly ; by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity ; broke by servants and instruments to draw them on ; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen ; and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty. As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again ; that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni* and, besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath flaws : for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men, to serve their own turn.

The fortune in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches ; as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters ; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches ; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty : it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where

they are not restrained, are great means to enrich ; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand.

Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, ⁹⁵ yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worse. As for fishing for testaments and executorships, (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *Testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*;) it is yet worse, by how much ¹⁰⁰ men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service.

Believe not much them that seem to despise riches : for they despise them that despair of them ; and none worse, when they come to them. Be not penny-wise : riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of them- ¹⁰⁵ selves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more.

Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public ; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of ¹¹⁰ prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment. Likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt, and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine ad- ¹¹⁵ vancements by quantity, but frame them by measure. And defer not charities till death. For, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

Of Prophecies

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions ; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou*
 5 *and thy sons shall be with me.* Virgil hath these verses from Hon.er :

*At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
 Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,*

a prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses :

————— *Venient annis
 Sacula seris, quibus Oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
 Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
 Detegat orbes ; nec sit terris
 Ultima Thule :*

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter
 10 of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father,
 and Apollo anointed him. And it came to pass that he

was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly ; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren : but Ari-¹⁵stander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis*. Tiberius said to Galba : *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium*. In Vespasian's²⁰ time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world ; which, though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was²⁵ growing out of the nape of his neck ; and, indeed, the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry VI. of England said of Henry VII. when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive*. When³⁰ I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name, and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel ; at which the queen laughed,³⁵ thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels : but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was :

*When hempe is spun,
England's done :*

whereby it was generally conceived that, after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and

Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion :
 45 which, thanks be to God, is verified in the change of the name ; for that the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand :

*There shall be seen upon a day,
 Between the Baugh and the May,
 The Black fleet of Norway.
 When that that is come and gone,
 England build houses of lime and stone,
 For after wars shall you have none.*

50 It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight ; for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that
 55 great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon ; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There
 60 are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology ; but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example.

My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fireside.
 65 Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief : for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief, and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they
 70

hit, and never mark when they miss ; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies ; while the nature of Man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that 75 which indeed they do but collect : as that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea : and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's 80 *Timæus* and his *Atlantius*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event 85 passed.

Of Ambition

AMBITION is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous. But if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or State. Therefore, it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is
 15 good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit
 20 to speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good com-

manders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious ; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest ; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger 25 and envy ; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops ; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down 30 of Sejanus.

Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble : 35 and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular ; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites, but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great 40 ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors to keep things 45 steady ; for without that ballast, the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures it may do well ; but if they be stout 50 and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what 55 to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood.

Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other, to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task, but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst cyphers, is
65 the decay of a whole age.

Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good, the approach to kings and principal persons, and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an
70 honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and States choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery;
75 and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

Of Masques and Triumphs

THESE things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost.

Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. 5
I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music, and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace—I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing)—and the 10
voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a bass and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is 15
a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty won-

derments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be
20 quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and
pleasure ; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be
full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with
light, especially coloured and varied ; and let the
masquers, or any other that are to come down from the
25 scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before
their coming down ; for it draws the eye strangely, and
makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot
perfectly discern.' Let the songs be loud and cheerful,
and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be
30 sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show
best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of
sea-water green ; and oes, or spangs, as they are of no
great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich em-
broidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of
35 the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person
when the vizards are off, not after examples of known
attires, Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-
masques not be long ; they have been commonly of fools,
satyrs, baboons, wild men, antiques, beasts, sprites,
40 witches, Æthiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics,
Cupids, statua's moving, and the like. As for angels, it
is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques ; and
anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other
side, as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be re-
45 creative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet
odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling,
are, in such a company, as there is steam and heat, things
of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques,
one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety.
50 But all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and
neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers ; the glories of
them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers

make their entry, especially if they be drawn with strange
beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like ; or, in the 55
devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries,
or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour.
But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII

Of Nature in Men

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return ; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune ; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature.

5 He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks ; for the first will make him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And, at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers
10 do with bladders or rushes ; but after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with ^athick shoes ; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use.

Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory
15 hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time (like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty letters when he was angry) ; then to go less in quantity (as if one should, in forbearing wine come

from drinking healths to a draught at a meal) ; and, lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best :

*Optimus ille animi vindex, ludentia pectus
Vincula quæ rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right ; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. 25

Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance ; but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset ; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both : and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermission. 30

But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far ; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her. Therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. 40

A man's nature is best perceived in privateness ; for there is no affectation : in passion ; for that putteth a man out of his precepts : and in a new case or experiment ; for there custom leaveth him.

They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations ; otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it ; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any 50

set times : for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds ; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the
55 other.

Of Custom and Education

MEN'S thoughts are much according to their inclination ; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions ; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravaillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard. Yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation ; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom, every in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man

would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom.

25 We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads
30 of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and
35 not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice.

Many examples may be put of the force of custom,
40 both upon mind and body: therefore since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years. This we call education; which is, in effect, but
45 an early custom. So we see in languages, the tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply; except, it be in some minds, that
50 have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare.

But if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined, and
55 collegiate, is far greater. For there example teacheth,

company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined ; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

Of Fortune

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune ; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hand. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*,
 5 saith the Poet. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors.
Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.

Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise ; but
 10 there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune, certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name *disemboltura* partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with
 15 the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *in illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) falleth upon that,
 20 that he had *versatile ingenium*. Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune ; for,

though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky : which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto*. And, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties than to have *a little of the fool*, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate ; neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way.

A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*) ; but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth : the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him.

All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune. For so they may the better assume them ; and besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus*. So Sylla chose the name of *felix*, and not of *magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *And in this fortune had no part*, never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards.

Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and an easiness more than the verses of other poets ; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas.
60 And that this should be, no doubt, it is much in a man's self.

XLI

Of Usury

MANY have made witty invectives against Usury. They say, that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe : that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday : that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of :

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent,

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*; not *In sudore vultus alieni* : that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize ; that it is against nature for money to beget money ; and the like. • I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis* : for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It

is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed
20 out or culled out ; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of
25 usury, money would not lie still, but it would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the *vena porta* of wealth in a State. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For, as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant
30 cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two ; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandising. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or State into a few hands. For the
35 usurer being at certainties, and the other at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box ; and ever a State flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land. For the employment of money is chiefly either
40 merchandising, or purchasing ; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates ; which in
45 process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respects hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it. For it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young
50 merchants upon borrowing at interest. So as, if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is,

that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means 55 (be it lands or goods) far under foot ; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter, for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely 60 for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, *The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeiture of mortgages and bonds.* The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit, and it is im- 65 possible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle ; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia. 70

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled ; the one that the tooth of usury be 75 grinded, that it bite not too much ; the other that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you 80 reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate ; other contracts not so. 85

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus : that there be two rates of usury, the one free and

general for all, the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current, and let the State shut itself out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country. This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five. This, by like reason, will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a high rate, and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay ; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever. Let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks ; but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender ; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over this trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandise. For then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country, so as the licence of nine will not suck away

the current rate of five. For no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorise usury, which before was in some places but permissive ; ¹²⁵ the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII

Of Youth and Age

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second, for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in
 5 ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into
 10 their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely.

Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they
 10 have passed the meridian of their years ; as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, in ævo furoribus, plenam* ; and yet he was the ablest emperor almost
 15 of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others.

On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than
 20 for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled

business ; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth them.

The errors of young men are the ruin of business ; but the errors of aged men amount but to this—that²⁵ more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold ; stir more than they can quiet ; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees ; pursue some few principles which they have³⁰ chanced upon absurdly ; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences ; use extreme remedies at first ; and (that which doubleth all errors) will not acknowledge or retract them ; like an unready horse that will neither stop nor turn.³⁵

Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

Certainly it is good to compound employments of⁴⁰ both. For that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both ; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors ; and, lastly, good for extern accidents, because authority followeth old men, and⁴⁵ favour and popularity youth.

But, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain Rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions,* and *your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that⁵⁰ young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth ; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and⁵⁵ affections.

There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned ; such
60 as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxurious speech, which becomes youth
65 well, but not age. So Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis*
70 *cedebant*.

XLIII

Of Beauty

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set ; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue ; as 5 if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit ; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always ; for 10 Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward IV. of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that 15 of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express, no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler ; whereof 20

the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them.

25 Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet

30 all together do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable : *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*. For no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth, as to

35 make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer-fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last ; and for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance ; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

Of Deformity

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature. For as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature ; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*. And so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the ⁵ body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination ¹⁰ are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign (which is more deceivable) but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect.

Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that ¹⁵ doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold, first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also, it stirreth ²⁰

in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think
25 they may at pleasure despise ; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising.

30 Kings in ancient times (and at this present, in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials and good
35 whisperers than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn ; which must be either by virtue or malice. And therefore, let it not be marvelled, if
40 sometimes they prove excellent persons ; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru ; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them ; with others.

Of Building

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on ; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house 5 upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal. As you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it ; whereby the heat of 10 the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs : so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you consult with Momus, ill 15 neighbours. I speak not of many more ; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures, want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races ; too 20

near the sea, too remote ; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing ; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh
 25 everything dear ; where a man liath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted : all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can ; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort
 30 them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and light-some in one of his houses, said, *Surely, an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter ?* Lucullus
 35 answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter ?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De*
 40 *Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator* ; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof ; for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and
 45 Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides ; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and a
 50 side for the household ; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front ; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within ; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in
 55 the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them to-

gether on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty feet high ; and under it a room for a dressing, or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition between) both of good state and bigness ; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground ; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a-piece above the two wings ; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statua's interposed ; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be ⁷ thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair and open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour, and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of ⁷ servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own ; for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only, I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen feet, which is the height of the lower room. ^{8c}

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front ; and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the rows of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the ⁸⁵ height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter, but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row ⁹⁰

of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries; in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household
 95 side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also that you may have rooms both
 100 for summer and winter; shady for summer and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For embowed windows, I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect
 105 of the uniformity towards the street) for they be pretty retiring places for conference, and, besides, they keep both the wind and sun off. For that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides
 110 only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with
 1 the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the
 115 first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain,
 120 or some fair work of statua's in the midst of the court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special
 125 person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber,

antecamera and *recamera* joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars. And upon the third story likewise an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way ¹³⁰ of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, ¹³⁵ some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace ; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts—a green court, plain, with a wall about it ; a second court of the same, but more ¹⁴⁰ garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall ; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides, and cloistered on the ¹⁴⁵ inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

Of Gardens

GOD ALMIGHTY first planted a garden. And, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which building and palaces are but gross handyworks : and a man shall
 5 ever see, that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely ; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally,
 10 things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter ; holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pines, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender ; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue ;
 15 germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved ; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezzerion-tree, which then blossoms ; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey ; primroses, anemones, the
 20 early tulip, hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris, frettellaria.

For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the early daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweetbriar. In April, follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene, and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower, herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, ginnittings, quadrilins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, filberds, musk melons, monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smell; so that you may walk by a whole

row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness, yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet ; especially the white double violet, which comes twice a-year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk rose. Then the strawberry leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell. Then the flower of the vines : it is a little dust like ; the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweetbriar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilliflowers. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints. Therefore, you are
 75 to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents
 80 ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts ; a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green,
 85 six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures ; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn ; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go
 90 in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the

garden. But, because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenters' work, about twelve feet in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures, with divers-coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side on which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenters' work, of some ten feet high, and six feet broad; and the spaces between, of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenters' work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches, some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also, I understand that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure—not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green, nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, never-

theless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff: they be for children. Little low hedges, round
 130 like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenters' work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very
 135 middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments: and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly
 140 cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures, the one that sprinkleth or spouteth
 145 water; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without any fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of
 150 marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, do well. As for the other
 155 kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of
 160 lustre, encompassed also with fine rails of low statua's.

But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain, which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without 165
spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness. 170

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wished it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckle, and some wild vines amongst, and the ground set with violets, 175
strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade, and these are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some 180
with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliu convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the 185
like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses, juniper, holly, (berberries but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, 190
gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbriar, and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys private, to give a full shade, some of them, 195

wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that, when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends to keep out the wind ;
200 and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your
205 fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep, and set with fine flowers ; but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the
210 fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides with fruit-trees ; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order ; but these to be by no
215 means set too thick, but to leave the main garden, so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side-grounds, there to walk, if you feel disposed, in the heat of the year or day ; but to make account, that the main
220 garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness, as they may be turfed, and have living plants
225 and bushes set in them, that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary.

So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing ; not a model, but
230 some general lines of it : and in this I have spared for

no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statua's, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII

Of Negotiating

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter, and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again ; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter ; or where
5 it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors ; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with
10 whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go ; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound.

In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed

It is better generally to deale by speeche, then by letters, and by the mediation of a third, then by ones self : Letters are good, when a man would drawe an aunswere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans Iustification afterwarde to produce his own fre ; To deale in person is good, where a mans face breedes regard as commonly wth inferiours : in choise of Instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte, that are likely to doe that w^{ch}

to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, ¹⁵ than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed (for that quickeneth much), and such as are fit for the ²⁰ matter; as, bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed ²⁵ them. For that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription.

It is better to sound a person with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is ³⁰ better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; ³⁵ or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man.

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shall neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the

All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover
40 themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of
necessity—when they would have somewhat done, and
cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man,
you must either know his nature or fashions, and so lead
him ; or, his ends, and so persuade him ; or his weakness
45 and disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have
interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with
cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends to
interpret their speeches ; and it is good to say little to
them, and that which they least look for. In all negotia-
50 tions of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap
at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by
degrees.

honestest man : all practise is to discover, or to make men discover
themselves in trust, in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity,
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their speaches, and it is good to say litle vnto them, and that w^{ch}
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Of Followers and Friends

COSTLY followers are not to be liked ; lest, while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other ; whereupon commonly ensueth that 10 ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make

Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, he maketh his wings shorter : I reckon to be costly not them alone w^{ch} charge the purse, but w^{ch} are wearisome, and importunate in suites : ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions, then countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrong : factionous followers are worse to be liked w^{ch} followe not vpon affection to him wth whome they raunge themselves, but vpon some discontentment received against some others

themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those
 they follow, are full of inconveniences. For they taint
 15 business through want of secrecy; and they export
 honour from a man, and make him a return in envy.
 There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous,
 being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the
 house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men
 20 many times are in great favour; for they are officious,
 and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain
 estates of men, answerable to that which a great man
 himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been
 employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a
 25 thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies; so it be
 without too much pomp or popularity. But the most
 honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that
 apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of
 persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in
 30 sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable
 than with the more able. And, besides, to speak truth,
 in base times active men are of more use than virtuous.
 It is true, that in government it is good to use men of
 one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordi-
 35 narily is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent,

whereupon commonly insueth that ill intelligence, that many times
 we see betwene greate personages: the following of certaine states
 awnswerable to that w^{ch} a greate personage himselfe professeth: as
 of souldiers to him that hath bin imploied in the warres, and the like,
 hath ever bin a thing civill, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so
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 the more passable, then wth the more able: in government of
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 aunce some extraordinarily is to make them insolent and the rest
 discontent, because they may claime a due: but in favours to vse

because they may claim a due. But contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election, is good : for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious ; because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe, for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation ; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many, is worse ; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends, is ever honourable ; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters ; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

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men with much difference, and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest affectionous, because all is of favour : it is good not to make too much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion. to be governed by one is not good, and to be distracted by many is worse : but to take advice of freindes is ever honorable : for lookers on many times see more then gamsters, and the vale best discovereth the hill. there is little freindship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equalls, that web is, is betweene superiour and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Of Suitors

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken ; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds : I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not
 5 performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them ; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the meantime of the suitor's hopes. Some
 10 take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when the turn is served ; or, generally, to make

Many ill matters are vndertaken, and many good matters wth ill mindes : some embrace suites w^{ch} never meane to deale effectually in them, but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to win a thanke, or take a second reward : some t^{ake} holde of suites onely for an occasion to crosse some others, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pretext, w^t out care of what become of the suite, when that turne is served : nay some vndertake suites wth a

other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose ¹⁵ to let them fall, to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor.

Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit : either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead ²⁰ a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well ²⁵ understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour ; but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose.

Sutors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that ³⁰ plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place. So far forth considera- ³⁵

full purpose to let them fall to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in sorte a right in every sute, either a right of equity, if it be a sute of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a sute of petition : if affection leade a man to favour the wrong side, in Iustice rather let him vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it : if affection leade a man to favour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe wth out depraving, or disabling the better deserver : in suites w^{ch} a man doth not vnderstande, it is good to refer them to some freinde of his, of trust, and Iudgement, that may report whither he may deale in them wth honour : Suters are so distasted wth delaies, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in suites at first, and reporting the succeesse barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserved is growne not onely honorable, but also gracious. in

tion may be had of his trust, that, if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means, and in some sort recompensed for his
 40 discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining ; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some
 45 kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person who should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean
 50 than the greatest mean ; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras* is a good rule where a
 55 man hath strength of favour ; but otherwise, a man were better rise in his suit : for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour.

Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter ; and yet, if it be not in a good cause,

sutes of favour the first comming ought to take but litle place, so farfoorth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue beene had but by him, advauntage be not taken of the note : to be ignoraunt of the value of a suite, is simplicitie, aswell as to be ignoraunt of the right thereof is want of conscience : secrecy in suites is a grea
 60 meane of obtaining : for voycing them to be in forwardnes, may discourage some kinde of suiters, but doth quicken, and awake others : but timing of suites is the principall : timing, I say, not onely in respect of the person that should graunt it, but in respect of those, w^{ch} are like to crosse it : nothing is thought so easie a

it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits ; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

request to a greate man as his fre, and yet not in an ill cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

L

Of Studies

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring ; for ornament, is in discourse ; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business. For expert men
 5 can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one ; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth ; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation ; to make judgment
 10 wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience. For natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning by study ; and studies themselves do give forth direc-

Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments, for abilities: their cheife vse for pastimes is in privateness and retiring; for ornaments, in discourse; and for ability in Iudgment and disposal of business: for expert men can execute, but learned are men more fit to Iudge, and censure: to spende to much time in them is slöth: to vse them to much for ornament is affectation: to make Iudgement wholly by their rules is the humor of a scholler: they perfect

tions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies; simple men¹ admire them; and wise men use them. For they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation.

Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but² to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention.³ Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books: else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference³ a ready man; and writing an exact man. And, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not.

nature, and are themselves perfected by experience: crafty men contemne them, wise men use them, simple men admire them. for they teache not their owne vse, but that there is a wisdome without them, and above them wonne by observation: Reade not to contradict, nor to beleue, but to weigh, and consider. Some bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some fewe to be chewed, and digested: that is: some are to be reade onely in partes, others to be reade but curiously, and some fewe is be reade wholly wth diligence, and attention. Reading maketh a full man, conference, a ready, and writing an exact man: therefore if a man write litle he had neede of a greate memory; if he confer litle, he had neede of a present wit, and if he reade litle, he had neede haue much cunning to seeme to knowe that he doth not knowe:

Histories make men wise ; poets witty ; the mathematics subtle ; natural philosophy deep ; moral, grave ; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit,
40 but may be wrought out by fit studies, like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercise : bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like. So, if a man's wits be wandering,
45 let him study the mathematics ; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *cymini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to
50 call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyer's cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

Histories make men wise : Poets witty : the Mathematiques subtile ;
Naturall Philosophie deepe ; Moral graue : Logique, and Rethorique able to contende.

Of Faction

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy. Whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which 5 are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have 10 strength in themselves, were better to maintain them-

Many haue a newe wisdom, otherwise called a fond opinion, that for a Prince to governe his estate, or for a greate person to governe his proceedings according to the respect of factions is the principall parte of pollicie: whereas contrariwise the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things w^{ch} are generall, and wherein men of severall factions doe nevertheles agree; or in dealing wth corrispondent persons one by one: but I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected: meane men must adheare, but greate men that haue strength in themselues were

selves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth
 15 best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do fire out a greater number that are more moderate.

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the
 20 rest of the nobles of the Senate (which they called *optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the Senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavius Cæsar against Brutus
 25 and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then, soon after, Antonius and Octavius brake, and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And, therefore, those that are seconds in
 30 factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals. But many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition, and, when that faileth, he groweth out of use.

It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in
 35 with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck

better to maintaine themselves indifferent and neutrall: yet even in beginners to adheare so moderately as he be a man of the one faction, w^{ch} is passablest wth the other commonly giveth best waye: the lower, and weaker faction is the firmer in condition: when one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth, w^{ch} is good for a second: it is commonly scene that men once placed take in wth the contrary faction to that by w^{ch} they enter: the traitor in factions lightly goeth away wth it. for when matters haue

long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage ⁴⁰ between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth, *Padre commune*; and take it to be a sign of one that ⁴⁵ meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house.

Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the State are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of ⁵⁰ sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions ⁵⁵ under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

stuck long in ballancing the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks.

Of Ceremonies and Respects

HE that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue, as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains.

⁵ For the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*, for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then ; so it is true, that small matters win great commerdation, because they are continually in use and in note, whereas the occasion of any great virtue

¹⁰ cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms.

To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them ;

He that is onely reall, needeth exceeding greate partes of vertue, as the stone had neede to bee exceeding riche that is set without foyle : but commonly it is in praise, as it is in gaine : for as the proverb is true, that light gaines make heaueie purses, because they come thicke : whereas the greate come but now, and then : so it is as true that small matters win greate commendation, because they are continually in vse, and in noate, whereas the occasion of any greate

for so shall a man observe them in others, and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much 15 to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies 20 at all, is to teach others not to use them again, and so diminish respect to himself (especially they are not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures); but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him 25 that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it.

Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a little to keep state. 30 • Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's

vertue commeth but on hollidaies : to attaine good formes it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shall a man obserue them in others, and let him trust himselfe wth the rest : for if he care to expresse them he shall loose their grace, w^{ch} is to be naturall, and vnaffected : some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every sillable is measured : how can a man obserue greate matters, that breaketh his munde to much in small observations? Not to vse ceremonies at all, is to teache others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect : especially they are not to be omitted to straungers, and straunge natures : among a mans equalls a man shallbe sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a litle to keepe state : among a mans inferiours a man shallbe sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a litle to be familiar : he that is to much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himselfe cheape ; to apply ones selfe to others is good, so it be wth demonstration

35 self to others is good ; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own ; as, if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction ; if you will allow his
 40 motion, let it be with condition ; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason.

Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments : for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to
 45 the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will
 50 make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

that a man doth it vpon regarde, and not vpon facility : it is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to adde somewhat of his owne : if you graunt his opinion let it be wth some distinction : if you will followe his motion let it be wth condition : if you allowe his counsaile, let it be wth alledging farther reason.

Of Praise

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous : for the common people understand not many excellent virtues. 5 The lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration ; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all. But shows, and *species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that 10 beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away ; for the odours of oint- 15 nents are more durable than those of flowers.

There be so many false points of praise, that a man

may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery : and if it be an ordinary flatterer, he
 20 will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man ; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most : but if he be an impudent flatterer,
 25 look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, *spretæ conscientia*. Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and
 30 great persons, *laudando præcipere* ; when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them ; *peccimum genus inimicorum laudantium* ; insomuch as it
 35 was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose* ; as we say, that *A blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie*. Certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doeth the good.
 40 Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be no better to him than a curse*. Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn.

To praise a man's self, cannot be decent, except it be
 45 in rare cases ; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business : for they call all
 50 temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *shirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-

poles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool*; ⁵⁵ but speaking of his calling, he saith, *Magnificabo apostolatium meum*.

Of Vain Glory

It was prettily devised of Æsop—the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, *What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have
 5 never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret; and therefore not effectual: but, according to
 10 the French proverb, *beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit:* much bruit, little fruit. Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in
 15 the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as, if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against a third, doth extol the forces of either of them

above measure, the one to the other. And sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance.

In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes seelings not only shine, but last.

But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucienus, *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator.* For that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons it is not only comely but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For, saith

Pliny, very wittingly, *In commending another, you do*
55 *yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior*
to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior,
if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be su-
perior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.

Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration
60 of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own
vaunts.

Of Honour and Reputation

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation ; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken ^s their virtue in the show of it, so as they be undervalued in opinion.

If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower.

The winning of Honour, is but the revealing of a mans vertue, and worth wthout disadvauntage : for some in their actions doe affect honour, and reputation, w^{ch} sorte of men are much talked of, but inwardly litle admired : and some darken their vertue in the shewe of it, so that they be undervalued, in opinion : If a man performe that w^{ch} hath not beene attempted before, or attempted, and giu'n over, or hath beene atcheived, but not wth so good circumstaunce ; he shall purchase more honour, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty wherein he is but a follower : if a man so temper

If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his honour in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat*. Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self, in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy.

The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of States and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone;

his actions, as in some of them he doe content every faction, the musicke willbe the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carying it through can honour him: discreet followers helpe much to reputation: Envy web is the canker of honour is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his endes, rather to seeke merrit then fame, and by attributing a mans successe rather to providence, and fœlicity, then to his owne vertue, and policie. The true marshalling of the degrees of soveraigne honour are these: in the first place, CONDITORES, founders of state. In the 2^d place are LEGISLATOES, Lawgivers, web are also called seconde founders: or PERPETVI PRINCIPES, because they governe by their ordinaunces after they are gonne. In

such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of civil wars or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as 40 Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores*, or *propugnatores imperii*; such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against 45 invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number.

Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, *participes* 50 *curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands as we may call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; 55 such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth,

the 3^d place are LIBERATORES, such as compounde the long miseries of civill warres, or deliver their countrie from the servitude of straungers, or Tirauntes. In the 4th place are PROPAGATORES, or PROPVGNATOES IMPERII, such as in honorable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against the Invadors: and in the last place are PATRIÆ PATRES, which raigne iustly and make the times good wherein they live. Degrees of Honour in subjects are, first, PARTICIPES CVRARVM, those vpon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their right handes as we call them: the next are DVCES BELLI, greate Leaders, such as are Princes, Leiuenauntes, and doe them notable service in the wars; the 3^d are GRATIOSI, FAVORITES, such as exceede not this scantling to be solace to their soveraigne, and harmelesse to the people. And

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negotiiis pares ; such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is^e an
60 honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst^d the greatest, which happeneth rarely ; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country ; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

the 4th are called NEGOTIIS PARES, such as haue greate places vnder Princes, and execute their places wth sufficiencie.

LVI

Of Judicature

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare* ; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion, and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of land and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causa sua coram adversario.*

The office of judges may have a reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto

clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and [†]the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes of parties that sue. *Therd be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood* ;
 25 and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar ; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto con-
 30 tentious suits, which ought to be spewed out as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills. So, when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent persecution, cunning
 35 advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal ; that he may plant his judgment as upon even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem* ; and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh
 40 wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences ; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care, that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour :
 45 and that they bring not upon people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos*. For penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present
 50 time, be by wise judges confined in the execution :

Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.

In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast

a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. 55
 Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice ; and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar, or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or coun- 60
 sel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four : to direct the evidence ; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech ; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been 65
 said ; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. .
 It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates 70
 should prevail with judges ; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest. But it is more strange that judges should have noted favourites ; which cannot but cause multiplication of fees and sus- 75
 picion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well-handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not ; for that upholds in the client
 the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the 80
 conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the Public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the
 counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself 85
 into the handling of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence : but, on the other side, let not the

judge meet the cause half-way, nor give occasion to the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

90 Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the footpace and precincts and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For, certainly, *Grapes* (as the Scripture
95 saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles*; neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers
100 of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantages. The third sort is of
105 those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees;
110 which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of the fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceedings, and understanding in the business
115 of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, *Salus populi*
120 *suprema lex*; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy thing in a state,

when kings and states do often consult with judges : and again, when judges do often consult with the king and State ; the one, where there is matter of law intervenient ¹²⁵ in business of state ; the other when there is some consideration of State intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate. I call matter of estate, not ¹³⁰ only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy ; for they are like the spirits and ¹³⁵ sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides : let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ¹⁴⁰ ignorant of their own right as to think there is not left them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater law than theirs, *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.* ¹⁴⁵

Of Anger

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not; let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined, both in race and in time.

5 We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit *to be angry*, may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

10 For the first; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles Man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, that *Anger is like rain, which breaks*
 15 *itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us *to possess our souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees :

—*animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well

in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, 20
children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must
beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than
with fear, so that they may seem rather to be above the
injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a
man will give law to himself in it. 25

For the second point; the causes and motives of
anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt;
for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and,
therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft
angry, they have so many things to trouble them which 30
more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the
apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to
be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt. For
contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as
much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore, when 35
men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of con-
tempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion
of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and
sharpen anger, wherein the remedy is, that a man should
have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassi-* 40
orem. But in all restrainings of anger, it is the best
remedy to win time and to make a man's self believe that
the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that
he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the
mean time and reserve it. 45

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold
of a man, there be two things whereof you must have
special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words,
especially if they be aculeate and proper (for *communia*
maledicta are nothing so much); and again, that in anger 50
a man reveal no secrets: for that makes him not fit for
society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break
off in any business in a fit of anger: but howsoever you
show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

55 For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the con-
60 traries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much. And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what
65 you will.

Of Vicissitude of Things

SALOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination that *All knowledge was but remembrance*, so Salomon giveth his sentence, that *All novelty is but oblivion.* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as 5 below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith: *If it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually 10 keepeth time), no individual would last one moment.* Certain it is that the Matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely 15 dispeople or destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought, in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, 20

by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all
25 one, as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely, that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by
30 earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that *it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But, on the other side, they have such pouring
35 rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africk and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us. Whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that
40 Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities—I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the suc-
45 cession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitudes or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like indi-
50 viduals (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather
55 gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely

observed in their effects, especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not ⁶⁰ have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as, great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers ⁶⁵ with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is ⁷⁰ the vicissitude of sects and religions. For these orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them—as far as the weak- ⁷⁵ ness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ⁸⁰ ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it ⁸⁵ will not spread. The one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that. The other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and ⁹⁰

now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, they do not produce any great alteration in states, except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects. By the
95 power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness
100 of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them,
105 than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from East to West;
110 for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs, the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven;
115 and no more have the wars, either from the East or West, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far Southern people have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the Northern track of
120 the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the north (whereas the South part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea); or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the Northern parts, which
125 is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great State and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces ; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So it was in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaine, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather ; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars. For when a State grows to an over power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow, as it hath been seen in the States of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people. But when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations ; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot ; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their degenerating ; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation ; yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been

in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvements are, first, the fetching afar off ; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them, as, that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war : at the first, men rested extremely upon number ; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match ; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After, they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast ; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like ; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish ; in the middle age of a state, learning ; and then both of them together for a time ; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish ; then his youth when it is luxuriant and juvenile ; then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced ; and, lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philosophy of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

A Fragment of an Essay of Fame

THE poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath ; so many tongues ; so many voices ; she pricks up so many ears. 5

This is a flourish ; there follow excellent parables : as that she gathereth strength in going ; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds ; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night ; that she mingleth things done with 10 things not done ; and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame. For certain it is that rebels (figured 15 by the giants) and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are in- 20 fected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points ;

25 what are false fames, and what are true fames, and how they may be best discerned ; how fames may be sown and raised ; how they may be spread and multiplied ; and how they may be checked and laid dead ; and other things concerning the nature of fame.

30 Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to move the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into
 35 Syria ; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not, and, being wearied with the wars, and laden with the
 40 spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is a usual thing with the bashaws to conceal the death of the
 45 Great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, King of Persia, post apace out of Grecia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships, which he had
 50 made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples ; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions
 55 and designs themselves.

[*The rest was not finished.*]

Notes

I

Of Truth

The *Antitheta*¹ bearing on this Essay are as follows :—

KNOWLEDGE, CONTEMPLATION.

FOR.

1. No pleasures are in accordance with nature save those that never breed satiety.
2. No prospect is so fair as the sight of wanderers far below.
3. How blessed it is to have the orb of the mind concentric with the orb of the Universe.
4. All perverted passions are but so many false notions; goodness and knowledge are identical.

AGAINST.

1. Contemplation is a specious sloth.
2. Good thoughts are little better than good dreams.
3. God cares for the world; your care should be your country.
4. The statesman also finds time to sow the seed of contemplation.

For the conflict in Bacon's mind between the claims of Philosophy and Politics, see Introduction, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

Truth, in this Essay, is used in two senses, 1st of philosophic truth or *facts*, 2nd, of the 'truth of civil business,' or truth of *actions*, which we should call *truthfulness*.

¹ The *Antitheta*, in their Latin form, are found towards the end of the Sixth Book of the *De Augmentis, Works*, i. 689-696; and they are translated in *Works*, iv. 473-491.

[Truth has been despised by some sects of philosophers (as by jesting Pilate) and men naturally prefer some mixture of a lie, for its own sake, as well as for the variety of it, 1-34. Yet truth is in human nature what light is in the world—the sovereign good. The prospect of errors from the hill of truth is full of pleasure, and to turn on the poles of truth is the true heavenly motion, 35-60. As for truth in action, or *truthfulness*, it may be inconvenient but it is noble: falsehood is impious as well as base, and calls for divine vengeance, 61-81.]

PAGE I. [1] **What is**, &c: See Introduction, p. xx. Whether Pilate was really *jesting* or not is not to the point. Christ appears to Bacon typical of the Truth, and Pilate the type of the sceptical, cynical questioning of 'that philosophy which is now in vogue, the purpose of which is to persuade men that nothing difficult, nothing by which nature can be commanded and subdued, can be expected from art or human labour,' *Works*, iv. 249: see also Introduction, p. xxxviii. Bacon often uses the language of Scripture illustratively rather than logically, as below, l. 81. Compare *Works*, iii. 487, where he says that the literal sense of the Scriptures 'is as it were the main stream or river; but the moral sense chiefly, and sometimes the allegorical or typical, are they whereof the church hath most use.' [2] **Giddiness**: Lat. 'cogitationum *vertigine*;' i.e. 'in a *whirl*, or constant change, of thought.' [3] **Affecting**: here, as mostly in Elizabethan English, *desiring*; so Lat. 'affecto,' 'I aim at.' But sometimes used as in modern English: see *Learn*, ii. 2. 102. [5] **Sects**: the Sceptics. Pyrrho was the first that received or adopted that name.¹ He taught in Athens (B.C. 300). Many of his views were adopted by the New Academy. 'The doctrine that absolute knowledge is impossible was the one *Academic* tenet against which all the other schools were combined.'—Reid's *Introduct.* to Cicero's *Academica*, p. xvi. Arcesilaus (born about B.C. 316) and Carneades (born about B.C. 214) represent what are called the Middle and New Academy. Compare *Works*, iv. 69: 'The New Academy made a dogma of it' (i.e. of *acatalepsia* or nescience) 'and held it as a tenet. And though theirs is a fairer seeming way than arbitrary decisions, since they say that they by no means destroy all investigation like Pyrrho and his Refrainers, but allow of some things to be followed as probable, though of none to be maintained as true, yet still, when the human mind has once despaired of finding truth, its interest in all things grows fainter.' Pyrrho also affected free

¹ The Sophist Gorgias anticipated all the later sceptics in denying the possibility of knowledge. He maintained 'that nothing is; that, if anything is, it is unknowable; and that, if anything can be known, it is incommunicable,' Sext. *Empir. adv. Math.* 65; Arist. *de Xenophane*, c. 5.

will in acting, 'admitting no fixed and consistent nature of good and evil.' *Works*, v. 9. In the middle of the third century of the Christian æra arose a school of later sceptics denying the possibility of science and substituting for it empiricism. Among modern sceptics is reckoned Montaigne (who died in 1592); but it can hardly be that Bacon refers to him in the 'discoursing wits.' In his *Essays* (i. 54; see also ii. 12, i. 31) Montaigne says he 'sits between the two stools of the Christianity of utter ignorance and the Christianity of perfect knowledge. But he does not 'affect' scepticism. 'As much as lieth in me I do withdraw myself into the first and natural seat whence I never assayed to depart.'¹ [6] **Discoursing**: Lat 'ventosa ei *discursantia*,' 'windy, and *discursive* or *rambling*.' **Wits**: 'intellects,' the derivation of the word being *witan* to 'know' or 'understand.' The Adj. 'knowing' has been narrowed in a somewhat similar manner. [7] **Veins**: the word vein used first of the body, thence applied to mines, came to mean a rich latent streak of metal; thence, applied to the mind, a rich latent streak of native faculty. So Horace, '*ingeni benigna vena*.' Here the third meaning is combined with the first or literal meaning: 'Intellects of the same mental disposition though inferior in vigour.' [10] **Imposeth**: the Latin has 'nor the captivity that is imposed upon men's thoughts as the result of the discovery of truth.' Hence 'it imposeth' appears to mean 'it imposes a yoke.' The word is regularly used with 'task,' 'burden,' &c. (compare 'imposition') so that some such object as 'yoke' may readily be understood. The meaning then is that 'the truth takes the thoughts of men captive and imposes its yoke upon them.' [11] **In**: for 'into,' as often in Elizabethan English. [12] **One of**, &c.: probably Lucian, who (*Philopseudes*, chap. i.) introduces a character saying, 'Can you tell me what in the world it is that makes most men love lying?... I am speaking of such as, without any enforcement, greatly prefer lying to truth *for the lie's own sake*, taking a positive pleasure in it.' [17] **This same truth**, &c.: Lat. '*ista veritas*' 'that *same truth* of which you make so much, has, nevertheless, disadvantages.' **Tell**: 'I cannot tell how it is'; so the Latin. [19] **Triumphs**: triumphal processions, as in Latin. See *Essay* xxxvii. [20] **Candle lights**: see *Essay* xxxvii. 30, 'The colours that show best by candle light are . . . and oes or spangs, *as they are of no great cost, so*

¹ For the popular view of Montaigne as the author representing social or active life (Locke representing the contemplative life), see Pope, *Satires*, iii. 26.

they are of the most glory. 'As for rich embroidery it is lost or not discerned.' [24] **Pleasure**: But the instances Bacon proceeds to give are not 'lies.' The vain 'opinions' and 'hopes' although not based on truth, are believed by the hoper to be based on *truth*, and only give him pleasure so far as he believes this. Bacon himself had an unbounded faculty for self-deception (see Introduction, p. lvii. and *passim*) but it was an 'imagination as he would,' not a *lie*. Prometheus declares that he bestowed a blessing on mortals in giving them 'blind hopes,' *Prometheus V.* 250.

P. 2. [26] **As one would**: 'imagining things as one would will or like them to be.' [29] **Indisposition**: Lat. 'languor,' 'indisposition for action of any kind.' It is similarly used in *Timon*, ii. 2. 139. [30] **One of**, &c.: Augustine speaks of some lines of the *Eunuchus*, alluding to Jupiter and Danaë, as 'vessels' containing the 'wine of error.'—*Confessions*, i. 16. 26. Jerome also (W.) calls the works of poets 'the food of demons.' Elsewhere Bacon says (*Works*, v. 26) 'Did not one of the fathers in great indignation call poesy "the wine of demons" because it engenders temptations, desires, and vain opinions?' Here the metaphor is different; as the wine of the Evil One fills the cup but with the mere semblance of wine, so poetry fills the imagination but with a lie, or rather with nothing so real as a lie, for poetry is but the shadow of a lie.² [34] **Such as**: There should be a stop before 'such'; 'it is the lie that settleth in the mind that doth the hurt—such a lie as we spake of before.' [36] **Truth**: here put for 'the truth when attained by the human mind,' and therefore equivalent to right reason. The truth-seeking faculty is the sole judge of truth. [38] **Love-making or Wooing**: this is a familiar image with Bacon to express that intercourse between the mind of man and the Universe, by which 'belief' is generated. He speaks of it as 'the *happy match* between the mind of man and the nature of things;' and again, 'we have prepared and adorned the Bride-chamber of the Mind and the Universe.' So Wordsworth:—

*The discerning intellect of man
When wedded to this goodly Universe.*

See Introduction, p. lxx. [39] **Belief**: Bacon seems to distinguish

¹ W. indicates a reference to Mr. W. Aldis Wright's edition of Bacon's *Essays*, Macmillan & Co., 1868.

² For a similar view of poetry cf. Plato's *Republic*, ii. 377, D. sq. For the lie that 'sinketh in the heart,' *ib.* 382, B, C. And for poetry and truth see the whole discussion, *ib.* x. 595-608.

between 'knowledge' and 'belief,' as though 'belief' were the more active. In the Latin, 'knowledge' is 'receptionem cum assensu,' i.e. 'receiving with (it may be, otiose) assent:' but 'belief' is 'fruitio atque amplexus,' i.e. 'the enjoyment and embracing of truth.'¹ [41] **Creature**: Created *thing*. See *Essay* vii. l. 16, where 'creatures,' as being *works*, are distinguished from 'children.' The all-importance of Truth is illustrated by the all-importance of Light. "The work of creation began with light, the object of the sense of sight; it ended with that higher light called Reason; and God's sabbath-work ever since has been the diffusion of that spiritual light which 'lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'" The three kinds of Light seem intended to correspond to the three receptions of Truth above, inquiry, knowledge, and belief.² [45] **The matter**: As '*the land*,' '*the sea*'—*matter* being regarded as a *definite* element. [46] **Still**: In Elizabethan English, *still* generally means 'always.' Here it means 'always, ever since that time,' Lat. 'usque semper.' [47] **The poet**: Lucretius (who beautified or was the ornament of the Epicurean sect), *De Rerum Natura*, II. i. 10, paraphrased. [49] **Yet**: i.e. spite of his belonging to that inferior sect. In *Works*, iv. 321, Epicurus is included by Bacon in 'the lighter kind of philosophers,' and is called 'profane' as well as 'foolish,' and 'more fond of enjoying the sweets of thought than patient of the truth;' he is there said to have 'subjected his natural to his moral philosophy.' Bacon did not object to his natural philosophy, at least not to the atomic theory. See *Essay* xvi. l. 15. [54] **Commanded**: 'A hill where one looks down, but is sure not to be looked down on by others.' But the Latin has '*inaccessibilem*,' 'inaccessible,' not to be approached by others.

P. 3. [59] **Move**, &c.: This seems to be an illustration from the supposed *Primum Mobile* (*Essay* xv. l. 52). Heaven was supposed to be moved by *Primum Mobile*, to be quiescent in Space, and to revolve round the Poles. Thus, the meaning is, 'the motions of heaven are transferred to earth, when a man's heart has charity for his *Primum Mobile*, providence for Space, truth for his Poles.' 'Rest' may be explained by *Works*, v. 478, where Bacon

¹ Hume has the same notion of *belief* as something active. In his technical language, it 'is a *lively* idea produced by a relation to a present impression,' or, as he expresses it further on, a believed idea is one 'which has *superior force or vivacity, or solidity, or firmness*.' *Treatise of Human Nature*, part iii. sect. 7.

² Compare the similar language in the Prayer at the end of the *Distributio Operis*, *Works*, i. 145.

distinguishes between orbicular motion, which is 'for its own sake,' returning into itself; and motion in a straight line, which is 'to an end, and for the sake of something, and as it were to obtain rest.' Charity, then, is the *motive* of action; Universal Providence the *element* of peace; the *fixed* poles of Truth ('for the heavens do not travel on *moveable* poles,' *Works*, v. 552) represent the *controlling power* of constancy. [62] **The truth of civil business**: Lat. 'veritatem aut potius veracitatem,' i.e. 'truth, or rather truthfulness.' [63] **Round**: *Round* was naturally used of that which was symmetrical and *complete* (as a circle is); then of anything *thorough*. Hence (paradoxically enough), 'I went *round* to work,' *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 139, means, 'I went *straight* to the point.' [65] **Alloy**: Such a mixture of base metal as is allowed by law—*à la loi*, whence the word is derived. [71] **Montaigne**, ii. 18.: 'To ly is an horrible-filthy vice, and which an auncient writer' (Plutarch, *Lysander*, p. 374, North, &c. l. 1656), 'setteth forth very shamefully when he saith that *whosoever lieth, witnesseth that he contemneth God, and therewithal feareth men*.' [79] **Peal**: (connected by Wedgwood with Icel. *belli*, a bell) first, a loud noise; hence it came to mean 'summons;' 'and *rouse* the prince, and ring a hunter's *peal*,' *Titus And.* ii. 2. 5. So the 'shard-borne beetle' summons, or announces, the advent of night by ringing 'night's yawning *peal*,' *Macbeth*, ii. 2. 43. Here, then, man's untruthfulness is the final 'summons' ringing in the day of God's vengeance. [81] **Faith**: But in *St. Luke* xviii. 8, 'faith' seems rather to mean *trust in God* than 'the truth of civil business,' i.e. *truthfulness*.¹

II

Of Death

The following are the *Antitheta*:

LIFE.

AGAINST.

FOR.

1. It is absurd to prefer the appendages of life to life itself.

1. While philosophers make so much preparation to front death, they make death all the more fearful.

¹ Bacon's account of 'the truth of civil business' may be compared with that of Bentham (*Jud. Ev.* i. 198), who makes it depend on three sanctions:—(i.) the physical sanction: it is *easier* to remember than to invent; (ii.) the popular sanction: truth is necessary to society, *liar* always a term of reproach; (iii.) the religious sanction: lying has always been regarded as *offensive* to God.

2. Whatever be our goal, yea though it be virtue, a long course is better than a short one.
3. Without a fair length of life, one finds no time to do, nor to learn, nor to repent.
2. Men fear death because they know it not; as boys fear the dark.
3. No human passion is so weak but, if roused a little, it can master the fear of death.
4. 'A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable [nor prudent], only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over.'¹

¹ The Edition of 1612 does not contain, ll. 28-30, 'out of . . . followers;' ll. 32-35; ll. 55-59.

Bacon's 'Conference of Pleasure' (Longmans, 1870) recently edited by Mr. Spedding, contains a 'Praise of Fortitude,' which well illustrates this Essay.

[The fear of death as a mere pain, is a childish fear, increased by the trappings and accompaniments of death, 1-19; this fear can be mastered by any passion, 20-45; but is best kept down, not by the preparations of the Stoics, but by the earnest pursuit and attainment of worthy objects, and by the hope of fame, 46-85.]

P. 4 [1] **Dark**: Hamlet regards death as a *sleep*, and busies himself with fancying 'what dreams may come' in it; Bacon apparently regards it as a mere dark 'passage' from one room to another. By the word 'tales' (Latin 'fabulosis terriulentis,' 'fabulous lugbears') Bacon has been thought to allude to such notions as are described in *Measure for Measure*, iii. 1. 120. But he may mean no more than 'the friar's books' in l. 8 below. [6] **Weak**: not 'faint,' but *imbecile*; Lat. 'infirmis et inanibus.' [7] '**You shall read**:' Like our 'you will find.' For this use of *shall* see *Shakespearian Grammar*, Par. 315-318. [8] **Mortification**: On the expediency of *mortifying* the flesh in this world (so as to avoid punishment in the next) see *Essay* iii. 52. Yet in the *De Augmentis, Works*, iv. 387. Bacon speaks of 'outward Euthanasia,' i.e. painless death, as a legitimate object too much neglected by physicians. [15]

¹ With the exception of the bracketed words, this translation is given by Bacon himself, ll. 32-45.

Natural man: Guided by nothing but *nature*. Compare *Life*, vol. i. p. 80, 'it is truly noted by one that writeth as a *natural* man,' i.e. Lucretius. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 14. [16] **Pompa**, &c.: 'It is the trappings of death that scare us more than death itself.' Freely quoted from Seneca (*Ep.* iii. 3. 14), 'Tolle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos terras: Mors es, quem nuper servus meus, quem ancilla contempsit.' The original is rather more closely quoted by Montaigne at the end of his Essay on Death: 'The outcries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swooning friends; the assistance of a number of pale looking, distracted and whining servants; a darke chamber; tapers burning round about: our couch beset round with Phisitions; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of vs: are we not alreadie dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked, and so *Arch.* i. The maske must as well be taken from things as from men; which being removed, we shall find nothing hid vnder it but the verie same death, that a seely varlet, or a simple maid-servant did lately suffer without amazement or feare.' This extract is a good illustration of the difference between Bacon's terseness and Montaigne's diffuseness. Bacon seems carefully to avoid using the language or examples of Montaigne, when writing on the same subject. The extract is from Florio's translation, p. 39. [18] **Blacks**, &c.: the black garb of mourning; compare *Winter's Tale*, i. 2. 122, 'As false as o'er-dyed blacks.' *Obsequies*, first, *following* in a funeral train; then, funeral rites of any kind, *Hamlet* V. i. 249. [20] **Worthy (of)**: Compare 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 278, 'the deed is worthy (of) doing.' Abridged forms are especially natural with phrases in common use, and therefore in phrases relating to *worthy*, *price*, *measure*, &c. [21] **Mates**: 'Lit. 'stupefies,' hence 'overpowers.' Dr. Morris gives from the *Knight's Tale*, *maat*, dejected; Fr. *mat*, quelled; Sp. *matar*, to kill; Ger. *mat*, feeble.

P. 5. [24] **Of him**: i.e. 'from death.' [25] **Grief lieth to it**: After this sentence the edition of 1612 has, 'Delivery from ignominy chooseth it,' and these words are also found in the Latin translation, 'Metus ignominiae eligit.' But they were perhaps omitted by Bacon as being included in the following, 'fear preoccupateth it,' i.e. 'anticipates it (by suicide).' [28] **The tenderest**: i.e. not 'the most loving,' but 'the most delicate and frail.' It comes nearly

¹ Cf. the similar view in Aristotle, *Eth. N.*, iii. 9. 4.; ix. 8. 9.

last in the climax, as being ~~the~~ best proof that the *weakest* passion can 'mate the fear of death.' Cf. Thuc. iii. 45. [30] **Niceness**: *fastidiousness*. From 'nescius,' meaning, first, 'ignorant;' then, 'foolish;' then, 'foolishly hard to please;' then, 'judiciously hard to please;' then, 'refined,' 'agreeable.' [31] **Cogita**, &c.: 'Be-think you how long you have been doing the same things; the desire to die may well be felt not only by the brave, or the miserable, but even by any one of a nice and fastidious nature.' The original (Seneca, *Epist.* x. 1. 6) is, 'Cogita quamdiu iam idem facias: cibus, somnus, libido: per hunc circulum curritur. Mori velle non tantum prudens aut fortis aut miser; etiam fastidiosus potest.' [34] **To do**: 'Of doing, or at doing;' see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 356. [36] **Good spirits**: i.e. 'good and noble *natures*.' Compare 'high and great spirits,' *Essay* xliii. l. 12. [38] **Livia**: 'Farewell, Livia; and forget not our married life.' Suet. *Aug.* chap. 99. [40] **Jam**, &c.: 'Tiberius was now fast losing his vigour, and even his vitality, but not his power of dissimulation.' Tacit. *Ann.* vi. 50 (the original has 'jam,' not 'et'). [42] **Ut**, &c.: 'As I suppose, I am on the point of becoming a god.' Suet. *Vespasian*, chap. 23. (The original has, 'Vae, puto,' 'Alas, I suppose.') [43] **Feri**, &c.: 'Strike, if it be for the good of Rome.' Tacit. *Hist.* i. 41, 'Agerent ac ferrent, si ita e republica videretur.' [44] **Adeste**, &c.: 'Be ready, in case anything remains for me to do.' [46] **Stoics**: Bacon (*De Aug., Works*, i. 726) bases this attack upon a rhetorical exaggeration of Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 30) who misquotes Plato. The object of the Stoics was 'to release and separate the mind from the body' by a pure and philosophic *life*; not to prepare the philosopher for death.¹ [48] **Qui**, &c.: 'Who accounts the close of life as one of nature's blessings.' Bacon here puts into Juvenal's mouth an extract from the poet's description of the legitimate objects of prayer. *Sat.* x. 358. (In the original 'spatium' is used for 'finem.') [51] **Pursuit**: Latin, 'in pursuing some great object of desire;' the word is, of course, metaphorically used.

P. 6. [59] **Extinctus**, &c.: 'Let him die, and you'll love him to-morrow.' Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 14. Cf. also Hor. *Odes*, iii. 24-31. So Pope of Atossa, 'But die and she'll adore you.' *M. F.* ii. 139.

¹ The Stoics classed life among things indifferent, neither good in themselves nor bad in themselves; hence their doctrine that suicide is permissible (Cic. *De Fin.* iii. 60). The more orthodox Stoics believed in immortality, but Panætius apparently did not. The prayer that Bacon approves of in l. 48 is purely Stoic.

III

Of Unity in Religion

The title in the Edition of 1612 A.D. was 'Of Religion : ' and the thesis of it was that 'the bonds of religious unity are so to be strengthened *as*' (i.e. on condition that) 'the bonds of humane society be not dissolved.' It referred principally to the hostile attitude of the Roman Church towards Protestant states. The corresponding Essay of 1625 A.D. deals more with the internal controversies dividing the Church of England. Hence the title is altered from 'Of Religion' to 'Of Unity in Religion,' and additions are inserted from Bacon's *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England*. The Essay of 1612 A.D. was as follows :—

'The quarrels, and diuisions for *Religion*, were euils vnkowne to the Heathen : and no maruell ; for it is the true God that is the ieous God ; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But yet the bonds of religious vnity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolved. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the act of *Agamemnon*, induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse :

Tantū religio potuit suadere malorum.

But what could hee haue done, if he had known the massacre of *France*, or the powder treason of *England*? Certainly he would haue bene seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Madmen of *Munster*, then to haue bene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie ; retaining reason onely but as an *Engine* and *Charriot driuer* of cruelty, and malice. It was a great blasphemie, when the Diuell said : *I will ascend and be like the highest* ; but it is a great blasphemie, if they make God to say, *I will descend and bee like the Prince of Darknesse* ; and it is no better, when they make the cause of *Religion* descend, to the execrable accions of murdering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the Holy Ghost (if one

should take it literally) as in stead of the likenes of a *Doue*, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture* or *Rauen*; nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint *Peter*, to set forth the flagge of a Barge¹ of *Pirats* and *Assassins*. Therefore since these things are the common enemies of human society; *Princes* by their power; *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian Morall, of what soeuer sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for cuer, these *facts* and their supports; and in all Counsels concerning Religion, that Counsell of the Apostle would be prefixed *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei*.'

For Bacon's Ecclesiastical Policy, see Introduction, pp. ci.-cxv.

[Religious discord is necessarily peculiar to those who worship a *jealous* 1-14. The Fruits of Unity are, externally, freedom from scandal; internally, peace, 14-52. The Bounds of Unity should be defined, not after the fashion of Jehu, nor after the fashion of the Laodiceans, but moderately and impartially, 53-73. Needless controversies are sometimes caused on petty points, or on great points pettily discussed, 74-101; and hollow peaces are made, based on ignorance or on the ignoring of contrarieties, 101-108. As to the means of Unity, men must beware of Mahomet's sword; i.e. of religious wars and persecutions, 109-158.]

P. 7. [1] **Band**, &c.: Bond; cf. *As You Like It*, v. 4. 135, 'to join in Hymen's *bands*.' The meaning is, if the bond *itself* is not continuous, it cannot *contain*. *Contained* here has its Latin sense of *hold together*.

P. 8. [28] **Outward face**, &c.: The 'conventicles' correspond to the *desertum*; the 'outward face of a Church' to the *penetralia*. Compare 'Men had need continually have sounding in their ears this same *Nolite exire: Go not out*. So ready are they to depart from the Church on every voice.' *Advertisement*, &c., *Life*, vol. i. p. 80. [30] **Doctor: Teacher**. The reference is to St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, xiv. 23. [31] **Propriety**: 'Peculiar nature.' [39] **Vouched**: (Lat. *vocare*, to *call*) called forward as a witness. [40] **A master of scoffing**: Rabelais. These words have been borrowed by a modern statesman in the phrase 'a master of flouts and jibes.' [42] **Morris dance**: (A corruption of *Morisco*, *Morisē*, i.e. *Moorish* dance, supposed to have been introduced into England from Spain by Edward III. when John of Gaunt returned thence.) It might be used here as

¹ So in the original. In the copy in the Cambridge University Library it is corrected in MS. to 'Barke.' (W.)

a mere specimen of a low, vulgar dance, as in *Henry V.* ii. 4. 25; but the epithet 'diverse' probably indicates that Bacon has in his mind the 'diversity' of the different characters—Maid Marion, the Hobby-horse, Friar Tuck, the May-pole, the Bavian or fool, and some six others—thus producing a coarse *incongruity*. [45]

Politics: Here, as often, *politicians*; cf. heretic. [48] **It**: i.e. 'peace' (not 'fruit'). The Lat. makes the meaning clearer by inserting 'for.' [52] **Treatises**: The original has *treaties*, which, however, I have not found used for *treatises*. Mr. Spedding reads *treatises*. Perhaps the original was *treatise*, intended for a plural, as *sense, verse, balance*, &c. See *Shakspearian Grammar*, Par. 471. [55] **Zelant** &c.: A hybrid form of 'Zealot,' with Greek root and Latin termination. Cf. *pedant* for *paidagogant*. The meaning is 'Peace is not the matter (at issue)—i.e. the question—with these zealots, but their object is to gain followers.'

P. 9. [60] **Accommodate**: This word (the affected use of which is ridiculed by Shakspeare, *2 Hen. IV.* iii. 278, and Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, i. 4) is elsewhere used by Bacon in the sense of 'arranging differences.' See *Life*, vol. iv. p. 372: 'Wherein I meet with the objections of impositions; but yet I conceive it may be *accommodate*.' [65] **Cross clauses**: Lat. 'in clausulis illis quæ primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur,' 'those clauses which at first sight appear to be contradictory.' [68]

Points fundamental: This is less definite than the *Advertisement*, &c., published in 1589 A.D. 'But we contend about ceremonies and things indifferent: about the extern policy and government of the Church. In which kind, if we would but remember that the ancient and true bonds of unity are, *one Faith, one Baptism*, and not one Ceremony, one Policy; if we would observe the League amongst Christians that is penned by our Saviour, *He that is not against us is with us*. . . our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together.' *Life*, vol. i. p. 75. So also in *Certain considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England*, published in 1603 A.D., 'one Faith, one Baptism; and not one Hierarchy, one Discipline.' [70] **Merely**: *Altogether, quite*: from Lat. 'merus,' *unmixed*: hence 'all of one sort;' hence, in modern English, 'nothing but of a certain sort.' See also *Essay* lviii. l. 15, p. 99. The meaning is 'not exactly of faith.' The Latin has 'not of faith, but of probable opinion, or holy intention, sanctioned for the due order and

administration of the Church.' [72] **Trivial**: Common-place. See *Essay* xii. l. 1.¹ [73] **Partially**: Lat. 'with less party-feeling,' more impartially. [75] **Model**: A *small plan*, from Lat. 'modulus'; something to show the *manner* of the thing.

'When we mean to build
We first survey the plot, then draw the *model*.'

² *Henry IV.* i. 3. 42.

[80] **One of the Fathers**: St. Bernard, *Ed. Paris*, 983-4 (W.)

[81] **Divers colours**: The reference is to Psalm xlv. 14, where the Vulgate, instead of 'in raiment of needlework,' has 'circum-amicta varietatibus,' i.e. 'clothed in various colours.' [89-93]

One thing, &c.: The same thing. The Lat. has 'and if this takes place in the case of such very trifling difference of judgment as can exist between man and man.' The second 'not' in l. 93, which arises from forgetting the 'not' in l. 92, must be omitted, as it is in the Latin.

P. 10. [97] **Devita**: 1 *Tim.* vi. 20, from the Vulgate. [101]

Governeth: Compare *Nec. Org.* Aph. lix., 'Men believe that their reason governs words; but it is also true that words react on the understanding.' Bacon gives as instances, Fortune, Prime Mover, Element of Fire. We might add, Nature, Law of Nature, and perhaps Church.

[103] **Implicit**: 'Upon (nothing) but an *entangled* ignorance.' Compare Milton, *P.L.* vii. 323, 'the bush with frizzled hair *implicit*.'

[110] **Muniting**: fortifying, from Latin *munio*.

[116] **To Propagate**, &c.: The construction seems to be, 'We may not take up, much less nourish, sedition.'

For the insertion of 'to,' see *Shakspeare's Grammar*, Par. 416.

'To propagate' may possibly depend on 'may'; but, more probably, it follows 'is,' and the words 'that is . . . state' are in a parenthesis.

In 1606 A.D. Bacon does not appear to have been averse to a Holy War. He suggests (*Works*, vol. vii. p. 4.) that

the Spanish match may be recommended as 'a beginning and seed of a Holy War against the Turk.'

And the lawfulness of a Holy War is discussed (but not settled) in the fragment written 1622 A.D. (*Works*, vol. vii. p. 12), *Advertisement touching a Holy War*.

That Bacon would have approved of such a war, rather as against Turks than as against Infidels, seems pro-

¹ The modern meaning, *worthless*, is easily derivable from the notion of vulgarity. The word originally meant 'that which savours of the streets,' Lat. *trivium*, 'a place where three roads meet.'

hable from the following passage (*Life*, vol. vii. p. 475): 'In deliberations of war against the Turk, it hath been often with great judgment maintained that Christian princes and states have always a sufficient ground of invasive war against the enemy; not for cause of religion, but upon a just fear.'¹ Though Bacon disapproves of sanguinary persecutions, he approves of the laws against Recusants. See Introduction, p. cxii.-cxiii. [123] **The ordinance**, &c.: Bacon admits the divine origin of other governments beside monarchies: 'All civil governments are restrained from God unto the general grounds of justice and manners, but the policies and forms of them are left free. So that monarchies and kingdoms, senates and seignories, popular states or commonalties, are all lawful, and, where they are planted, ought to be maintained inviolate,' *Life*, iii. 107. [124] **The first table**: 'That is, to make the first table of the Decalogue, one's duty toward God, antagonistic to the second table of the Decalogue, one's duty toward man. [127] **That**: After Proper Nouns, *that* generally implies 'the man that,' 'such a one that,'—something more than the mere relative.

P. II. [128] **Tantum**, &c.: 'Alas! Religion, how powerfully couldst thou prompt to evil.' *De Rerum Natura*, i. 95. [130] **Massacre**, &c.: At this time Bacon was eleven years old; see Introduction, p. ix. For his opinion of the Gunpowder Plot, see Introduction, p. xvii. [131] **Epicure**: Epicurean.² 'The opinion of Socrates is much upheld by the general consent even of the *Epicures* themselves.' Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, xxi. 4. [135] **Anabaptists**: After their defeat in Saxony, the remnant of the Anabaptists seized the town of Munster and overthrew the magistrates, and established a society upon their own principles, but eventually were put down with great slaughter (1534). Hence in the Edition of 1612 A.D. they are called 'the madmen of Munster.' In the *Advertisement touching an Holy War*, *Works*, vii. 33, Zebedæus, a Roman Catholic Zelant, is made to say, 'I say the like of the Anabaptists of Munster; and this, although they had not been rebels to the empire, and put case likewise that they had done no mischief

¹ Cf. *Homilies*, ed. 1852, p. 321. 'Above thirty years past, the great Turk had overrun, conquered, and brought into his dominion and subjection, twenty Christian kingdoms . . . and now is even at hand . . . greedily gaping to devour us.'

² Cf. 'fancy' and 'phantasy' as instances of two meanings from one original form.

actually, yet if there shall be a congregation and consent of people that shall hold all things to be lawful, not according to any certain laws or rules, but according to the secret and variable motions and instincts of the spirit, this is indeed no nation, no people, no signory that God doth know; any nation that is civil and polliced may (if they will not be reduced) cut them off from the face of the earth.' [138] **Bring him in:** i.e. 'upon the stage:' to

personate means to 'give a stage-part to.' Cf. *Life*, vii. 178.

'Ye are to represent the people, ye are not to *personate* them;' i.e. not to give them a character that does not belong to them. [140]

What: seems used for 'in what,' 'how.' For 'what' used as 'why,' see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 253. [149] **Mercury rod:**

'The *Caduceus*, with which Mercury 'calls forth some souls from Orcus; but sends down others to sad Hell,' Virgil, *Æneid* IV.

143. Mercury is also the god of learning; and therefore the power exerted upon opinions by the consent of learned men is compared to the power of Mercury over the spirits of the dead. For the noun used as adjective, see *Sh. Grammar*, 430. *As* seems used for *as if it were*. [150] **Facts:** Lat. 'facta,' *deeds*. Compare 'this damned *fact*,' *Macbeth* iii. 6. 10: used (always seemingly, see Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*) by Shakespeare of '*civil deeds*.'

[154] **Would be:** '*Requires to be*,' '*wishes to be*;' not quite, though nearly, the same as 'should be.' But this use of *would*,

where we use *should*, is undoubtedly explained by the general dislike to use *shall* and *should* with the second and third person. See

Sh. Grammar, Par. 322, 329. [154] '**Ira**,' &c.: *St. James* i. 20. See Introduction, p. cvi., where Bacon quotes this verse in his appeal

to the bishops. [157] **Interested:** This French form is found in Spenser, *F. Q.* vii. C. 33. I have not discovered the name of the

'wise father.'

IV

Of Revenge

The *Antitheta* on Revenge are as follows:—

- | FOR. | AGAINST. |
|--|--|
| 1. Private 'Revenge is a kind of wild justice.' ¹ | 1. The man that does a wrong begins mischief; the man that returns a wrong makes mischief endless. |
| 2. He who requites violence with violence, offends against the law only, not against the individual. | 2. The more natural vengeance is, the more it must be ^{run} down. |
| 3. The fear of private revenge is a useful thing: for the laws are too often asleep. | 3. The man that is prone to return a wrong, may be suspected of having wished to begin it. |

Throughout the first half of this Essay Bacon has duelling in his mind. Bacon could not sympathize at all with the modern impatience of insult. His low views of human nature (see Introduction, p. cxlv., and this Essay, ll. 16-18), and the inconvenient extent to which duelling had been carried in his time, combine, with his admiration of everything Roman, to make him not only intolerant of revenge, but even dull to the rightfulness of just resentment: 'As for words of *reproach* and *contumely* (whereof the lie was esteemed none) it is not credible (but that the orations themselves are extant) what extreme and exquisite reproaches were tossed up and down in the senate of Rome, and the places of assembly and the like in Græcia; and yet no man took himself fouled by them, but took them but for breath, and the style of an enemy, and either despised them or returned them; but no blood spilt about them.' *Charge touching Duels, Life*, vol. iv. p. 436. He complains also that 'Life is grown too cheap in these times.' Ib. p. 271. See also *Essay* lvii. and the reference there to Butler.

¹ These words, 'private' being omitted, open the Essay.

[Revenge is destructive of law, beside being ignoble, 1-8. It cannot undo the past, and it is unreasonably blind to the frailties of human nature, 9-18. It is most tolerable when it supplies the place of law, and most noble when it is open, 19-29. Friends, as well as enemies, should be forgiven for the sake of one's own peace, 30-39. Public revenges are mostly fortunate, private revenges are not, 39-45.]

P. 12. [1] **Wild**: Lat. *agrestis*, uncultivated, referring to vegetable, not animal wildness. The *wild* justice of revenge is distinguished from the *cultivated* justice of the law. [7] **Salomon**: *Proverbs* xix. 11. [9] **Past**, &c.: This applies to nothing but revenge in the strict sense of the word, *vindictive pleasure in retaliation*. It does not apply to punishment, which a man may inflict for *future* protection to himself or others. [15] **Why should**, &c.: Compare *Essay* xxxi. 19. 'What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to their own ends than to them?' See Introduction, cxlvii. [16] **Merely**: Altogether. See *Essay* iii. l. 70, p. 9. The meaning is, 'out of mere malignity, without excuse of any kind.' *Ill nature* is, in the Latin, *maliguitas*, 'badness of disposition.' See *Essay* xiii. 56. 'There is a natural malignity; for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others.' [18] **No other**: See *Shakespearean Grammar*, Par. 12, for similar instances of 'other' being thus used as a pronoun. [20] **No law**: The reference is probably to duelling. Compare, 'As for the second defect pretended in our law, that it hath provided no remedy for *lies* and *fillips*, any lawgiver, if he had been asked the question, would have made Solon's answer: *That he had not ordained any punishment for it, because he never imagined the world would have been so fantastical as to take it so highly.*' *Life*, Vol. iv. p. 406.

P. 13. [22] **Else**, &c.: 'Otherwise a man gets two punishments for one received by his enemy. He is first injured by his enemy, and then punished by the law for revenging himself.' [26] **The delight**: 'For (in the case of these men) the delight seems to be;' Latin, 'for they seem to be delighted.' [30] **Cosmus**: A descendant of the younger branch of the Medici, made duke of Florence on the murder of Alessandro, the illegitimate descendant of the elder branch, in 1537. By his inquisitorial government he is said to have changed the manners of the Florentines, who were before noted for garrulity and lightness of conversation, to taciturnity and caution. Cf. *Essay* xlii. l. 15. [35] **Shall we**, &c.: *Job* ii. 10. [40] **For**

fortunate : The meaning is that Augustus Cæsar, Septimius Severus, and Henry IV. prospered after revenging the deaths of Cæsar, Pertinax, and Henry III., [41] **Pertinax** : The mutineers who had murdered Pertinax were put to death by Septimius Severus, A.D. 193. [42] **Henry III.** : Assassinated in 1589 A.D. by Friar Clement, mentioned in *Essay* xxxix. l. 12. [44] **Witches** : Bacon gave a practical proof of his belief in witchcraft by recommending the torture of a schoolmaster named Peacock for 'practising to have infatuated the King's judgment by sorcery,' *Introduction*, p. cxxx. A law had been passed early in the reign of James I., in accordance with the King's desire, subjecting witches to death on the first conviction, even though they should have done no harm to their neighbours. *Vindictive* is the Latin form of *windictive*. [45] **Infortunate** : For this use of the prefix *in*, see *Shakespearian Grammar*, Par. 442.

V

Of Adversity

[Adversity has been (even to excess) extolled by Stoics and poets, as in the myth of Hercules and Prometheus, 1-21. But, to quit poetry, Adversity is superior to Prosperity, as being the blessing of the New Testament (though not unmentioned in the Old); as having its comforts, which show the brighter for the dark background; and as being most apt to elicit virtue, 21-41.]

P. 14. [2] **Stoics** : The Stoic School (founded by Zeno at the beginning of the 3rd century before Christ) is generally misunderstood by Bacon. He censures them, unjustly, for an excessive preparation for death (see *Essay* ii. l. 46, note); and he also censures 'the philosophy of Epictetus, who presupposes that felicity must be placed in these things which are in our power, lest we be subject to fortune and disturbance; as if it were not a thing much more happy to fail in good and virtuous ends for the public, than to obtain all that we can wish to ourselves in our private fortune,' *Works*, v. 9. What the Stoics said was, that the Wise Man could be happy and self-complete in spite of any circumstances and any failures: indeed, he could not fail as long as he remained himself. Here,

therefore, Bacon, though inconsistent, is more just, in censuring their 'high speeches.' So Milton (*P. R.* iv. 350) speaks of the 'philosophic pride' of the Stoic—

By him called virtue ; and his virtuous man
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing,
Equal to God.

[2-3] **Which—that** : Note Bacon's apparently indifferent use of *which* and *that*. Freely quoted from Seneca, *Ep.* vii. 4. 29.

[5] **Miracles** : Bacon treats 'mirabilia' almost as though it were 'miracula.' The meaning is, 'Certainly, if miracles mean command over nature, then Seneca is right ; for the self-control exercised over human nature appears most in adversity.' [8] **Too high** :

It has been suggested that it is implied that Seneca had access to Christian teaching ; but the meaning seems merely to be, as in the Latin, 'somewhat too lofty to befit a heathen,' i.e., disproportionate to the heathen basis of morality. [9] **Security** : As in Latin, 'freedom from care.' In *Macbeth* iii. 5. 32, Hecate tells us, 'And you all know *security* is mortals' chiefest enemy.'

[10] **'Vere,'** &c. : *Epist.* vi. 1. 12, 'Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem dei.' [14] **Fiction** : Apollodorus, *De Deorum Origine*, ii. 5 (W.) Compare St. Paul's 'we have this treasure in *earthen vessels*.'

[20] **Lively** : *To the life*. The adverbial termination is sometimes not added to adjectives ending in *ly*. Cf. 'this tune goes *manly*,' *Macbeth*, iv. 3. 235. [20] **Christian** : This would almost seem to mean 'the resolution of Christ.'

See *Works*, vi. 753, 'The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of *God the Word* hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race.' But perhaps, with a slight confusion, the Christian Spirit is regarded as sailing in the bark of the flesh of an ordinary Christian man to unbind the lower nature, or Prometheus, in that same man.

P. 15. [22] **In a mean** : 'In a moderate way.' [24] **Prosperity**, &c. : The Old Testament is full of passages mentioning prosperity as a blessing ; the passage in the New Testament specially referred to is probably the Beatitude (see Latin translation below) in *St. Matthew* v. 4, 'Blessed are they that mourn.' But in this and in similar passages, e.g. 1 *Pet.* iv. 13, *adversity* is only regarded as a blessing because it prepares the way for *prosperity* in the highest

sense. Probably 'which' refers to 'blessing.' The Latin is, 'Prosperity has to do with the benedictions of the Old Testament, adversity with the beatitudes of the New, which are not only in reality greater, but also carry clearer revelations of the Divine favour.' 'Blessing' seems to be distinguished from 'benediction,' in that the former is nearer to the meaning of 'advantage': the latter more technically describes a *divine blessing*. [27] **Yet even in:** This sentence is quoted by Lord Macaulay as an instance of Bacon's later florid style. [35] **Lively:** Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 37, speaks of 'cunning painters, who for the whitest worke cast the blackest ground, to make ye picture more amiable.' [37] **Therefore:** There is no argument at all here, nothing but an analogy; the 'therefore' is wholly unjustifiable. But see Bacon's notions of *Prima Philosophia*, Introduction, lxxxiii.-lxxxiv. [39] **Incessed:** Burnt, but probably with a notion of burning *incense* as a sacrificial offering. Cf. *Adv. of Learning, Works*, iii. 491, 'The first, if any be, is due *tanquam adeps sacrificii* (as the fat of the sacrifice) to be *incensed* to the honour, first of the Divine Majesty, and next of your Majesty.' This saying is attributed in Bacon's *Apophthegms* to Mr. Bettenham (Autumn Reader of Gray's Inn in 1590), who was also author of the saying, 'Money is like muck, not good except it be spread.' [40] **Prosperity, &c.:** But in the *Antitheta* of Essay xi. Bacon says that 'office gives publicity to virtues and vices, spurring the former, while it bridles the latter;' and in Essay x. l. 48, he speaks of great prosperity and great adversity as being 'the very 'times of weakness,' or, as the Latin translation has it, 'the times when^o the mind is most infirm and soft.' It would appear, then, that this Essay speaks of adversity somewhat conventionally. Elsewhere Bacon recognises that adversity is neither a blessing in itself nor a curse in itself, but either, in accordance with the way in which it is borne. [41] **Discover:** Here, as often, means *uncover, reveal*; not 'find out'; cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iii. r. 4, &c.

VI

Of Simulation and Dissimulation

The *Antitheta* are :—

FOR.

1. Dissimulation is a compendious wisdom.
2. We are bound to be consistent, not in our words, but in our purposes.
3. Even in the mind, nakedness is uncomely.
4. Dissimulation is at once a grace and a safeguard.
5. Dissimulation is the fence of counsels.
6. Some persons are deceived to their own advantage.
7. The man that dissembles not, deceives as much as the dissembler ; for the world either does not understand, or does not believe him.
8. Want of dissimulation means want of self-control.

AGAINST.

1. Though we cannot think according to the truth of things, yet let us at least speak according as we think.
2. It is only those who find true policy above their understanding that substitute dissimulation for wisdom.
3. The dissembler deprives himself of the best instrument for action ; namely, credit.
4. Dissimulation invites dissimulation.
5. To be a dissembler is to be not free.

The *Antitheta* on 'Keeping Secrets' are :—

FOR.

1. The silent man has nothing kept secret from him, because he may be safely trusted with secrets.

AGAINST.

1. The best way of keeping one's mind secret, is to vary one's manners.

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|--|---|
| 2. 'He that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not.'
3. Even mysteries are due to secrecy. | 2. Silence is a virtue in none but confessors.
3. The silent man has no secrets told him ; for one recompenses silence with silence.
4. A veiled face is no better than a strange face. |
|--|---|

The *Antitheta* on 'Loquacity' are :—

- | FOR. | AGAINST. |
|---|--|
| 1. The man that is silent suspects others, or is suspected by himself. | 1. Silence gives to speech both grace and authority. |
| 2. All kinds of constraint are painful, but that of silence is most wretched of all. ¹ | 2. Silence, like sleep, nourishes wisdom. |
| 3. Silence is the virtue of fools ; so it was well said to the silent man, 'If you are wise, you are a fool : if you are a fool, wise.' | 3. Silence is the fermentation of thoughts. |
| 4. Silence is like night ; it suits foul-play. | 4. The pen of wisdom is silence. |
| 5. Thoughts are like water, most wholesome when they flow. | 5. Silence is the suitor of truth. |
| 6. Silence is a kind of solitude. | |
| 7. The silent man is laying himself out for good opinions. | |
| 8. Silence neither casts out ill thoughts, nor instils good ones. | |

{For Bacon's use of simulation and dissimulation, see Introduction, pp. xliii. xliv. xlvii.}

¹ This seems to agree with the saying above, 'to be a dissembler is to be not free ;' but *custodia* might mean 'the watchfulness of those who are guarding a secret ;' and then the translation would be, 'All watchers are unhappy ; but the watchfulness of silence is most unhappy of all.' But Mr. Spelding translates as I have given it in the text.

[1] *Dissimulation* is the mark of a weak nature, and is inferior to art or policy ; but if you are not strong enough to vary frankness with dissimulation, you must be content to dissemble invariably, 1-33. 1. *Secrecy* is a virtue, essential to sobriety and steadfastness, 33-64 ; 2. *Dissimulation* is a fault, but is forced by inquisitiveness on those who would be secret ; 3. *Simulation* is more culpable, and, when habitual, is a vice, 70-87. *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* harm more than they help. *Secrecy* should be habitual, *simulation* rare, and *dissimulation* never—'except there be no remedy,' 87-113.]

P. 16. [2] **Wit** : understanding ; see Essay i. 6. [6] **Tacitus** : *Ann.* v. i. [6] **Arts** : here used in a good sense. Compare *De Augustis, Works*, vol. v. 70 : 'And this appears to have been the feeling of Tacitus when he constitutes the artificers of dissimulation as a wisdom of an inferior form to the *arts of true policy*, attributing the former to Tiberius, but the latter to Augustus.' Of Julius Cæsar, *Works*, vi. 342, Bacon says : 'He was a consummate master of simulation and dissimulation, and made up entirely of arts. . . Yet for the smaller and meaner artifices and precautions he was not at all beholden to them.' [10] **He saith** : Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 76. [14] **Severel** : severed, distinct ; a form of *separate*. [15] **That—as** : *Such—that*. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 277-80. [17] **Half-lights** : Lat. 'twi-light.' Cf. *Works*, vi. 132, 'the King's manner of shewing things by pieces and dark-lights.'

P. 17. [23] **In particulars, &c.** : The meaning is, 'When a man cannot vary his reserve or frankness to suit *particular* cases, he must lay down a *general* rule of caution, just as a half-blind man has to form a habit of walking slowly. [28] **Managed** : Trained, Fr. *manège*, the managing of a horse ; probably from Lat. *manus*, a hand, It. *maneggiare*, to handle. •In *Works*, v. 69, he mentions some of these 'ablest men,' Lucius Sylla, Cæsar (whom he contrasts with Pompey), and Augustus. [40] **Industriously** : Lat. 'de *industria*,' *purposely* ; it does not mean 'diligently.' [44] **Futile, &c.** : lit. *leaky*. *Vain* (Lat. *leves*) here means *light-minded*. The argument is, 'A man that tells all he knows will sometimes pass the line of his knowledge, and will tell what he *thinks*, as though he *knew* it. Consequently he will be very ready to think he knows, i.e., he will be *credulous* ; and he will also be fickle and *light-minded* in his readiness to take up new opinions.' [46] **Discovery** : *disclosures*, cf. *Essay*, v. l. 41. [49] **In that kind** : 'In the same way ;' the Lat. has 'for the same reason.' It would appear, therefore, *not* to mean 'things of that kind, i.e., burdensome secrets,' but rather to modify the verb 'come.'

P. 18. [60] **Leave** : i.e. 'may not reveal beforehand what the tongue has to say.' [61] **Tracts** : *Traits* ; Lat. *tractus*. [68] **Indifferent** : *impartial*., cf. *Henry VIII.* ii. 4. 17. [71] **Beset** : Cf. what is said of Walsingham by Lloyd (quoted in 'Chambers' Biographical Dictionary'), 'He would so beset men with questions, and draw them on, that they discovered themselves, whether they answered or were silent.' [72] **Absurd** : Derived from Lat. *ab* and the root *sur-* in *susurrus*. It originally meant 'tuneless.' Hence 'ridiculous,' 'silly.' It seems sometimes to convey the notion of want of *tact*, as in *Essay* xxvi. l. 47. So in '*absurd* pomp,' *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 65, it means 'ostentatiously and vulgarly foolish.' [75] **Oraculous** : Oracles were noted for 'paltering with us in a *double sense*,' *Macbeth*, v. 7. 20. Beside the 'oracles' of the witches in *Macbeth*, see 2 *Henry VI.* i. 4. 60-70. Many 'oracles' in Shakspeare's plays are fulfilled, but almost always by unexpected fulfilments. [76] **No man**, &c. : It is characteristic of Bacon's supple and conciliating character that it does not suggest itself to him that it is possible to stop impertinent questioners by abruptness, without having recourse either to 'absurd silence' or dissimulation. But the whole *Essay* is a tribute to the new power of Policy, which, since Machiavelli's time, was recognised as having deposed Force ; and Policy, in the Elizabethan times, presupposed Simulation and Dissimulation. 'The devil knew not what he did when he made man *politic* ; he crossed himself by't : and I cannot but think, in the end, the villanies of man will set him clear,' *Timon*, iii. 3. 29. A *politician* was 'one that would circumvent God,' *Hamlet*, v. 1. 88. But note that in l. 80 Bacon admits by implication that dissimulation is 'culpable.' [83] **Of** : *From*. [85] **Needs** : *of need*, a possessive inflection. [87] **Ure** : *Use* ; from *heur*, Fr. (not *heure*, 'hour'), which is derived from Lat. *augurium*. Hence *destiny*, *experience*. Hence *enure* or *inure* is 'to put in experience,' 'to practise.'

P. 19. [91] **Alarum** : Ital. *all' arme*, to arms ; here used in its technical military sense ; the attacking army gives the *alarum* to its sleeping opponents. Cf. 2 *Hen. VI.* ii. 3. 94. 'Sound trumpets, *alarum* to the combatants.' [94] **Fall** : A metaphor from wrestling. 'He must either go through with his contest or retire worsted' ; Lat. 'he must disgracefully desist.' [97] **Fair** : seems to be here used for 'just,' 'simply.' I know no other instance of this parenthetical use. [98] **Freedom**, &c. : This is clearer in the

Latin, 'when a man publishes his own thoughts, people do not like to contradict him, but prefer to flatter him and then convert freedom of speech into freedom of thought;' i.e. 'they differ from the speaker all the more freely in their minds because they are not free in their words.' Cf. *Essay* xx. ll. 161-5. [99] **Tell**, &c. : Compare the saying of 'the fishmonger,' Polonius, *Hamlet*, i. 5. 63. 'Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth.' [104] **Round** : See note on *Essay* i. l. 63; *neat, clean, thorough*. The metaphor is, of course, borrowed from Archery. Cf. Chaucer's *Prol.* 107. In l. 106 'him' refers to an *implied* agent. [110] **Composition and temperature** : '*Combination and blending*.'

VII

Of Parents and Children

The *Antitheta* are :

FOR.

1. The love of one's country begins from the love of one's family.
2. Wife and children make a sort of school of kindness : bachelors are austere and stern.
3. Single life and childlessness are of no use but for fugitives.
4. The man that has no children offers sacrifice to death.

AGAINST.

1. The man that has married a wife and reared children has given hostages to fortune.
2. Generation and children are earthly matters : creation and creative works are divine.
3. With brutes eternity lies in offspring ; with men, in fame, in desert, and in lasting works.
4. Household considerations often overthrow considerations of state.

5. Men otherwise prosperous are often unfortunate in their children—for fear men should approach too near the happiness of heaven.¹
5. Some people² have praised the lot of Priam, who survived all his children.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 8-12, 44-54.

On Bacon's estimation of family influences, see Introduction, p. cxliii.

[Children cause sorrows as well as joys, and the noblest works have proceeded from childless men, 1-12. Children are most indulged by the first raisers of a noble house; when petted they often thrive not so well as when forgotten, 12-25. Parents should avoid niggardliness, and brothers rivalry, 26-36. Likeness runs in other lines of kindred as well as from father to son, 36-43. Parents should not cross nature in their children, but they may remember that nature is flexible, 44-52. 'Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.']

P. 20. [2] **Cannot**: Lat. 'The former certainly they cannot succeed in expressing by words, and the latter they are loth to publish.' For the double negative, see *Sh. Grammar*, Par 406.

[5] **Remembrance**: Yet in the Essay on Death, Bacon censures the Stoics for their undue attention to so slight a matter as death. But here he speaks less conventionally, see Introduction, p. cl. This view of the 'joys of parents' is characteristic of a man who was childless. [6] **Perpetuity**, &c.: See *Antitheta* above. [9] **Foundations**: The Lat. here is 'fundationes'; but in the *Antitheta* 3, *Against* above, it is 'instituta'; and the meaning appears to be 'institutions,' 'permanent works,' such as entitle the authors of them to be called 'founders.' [9] **Childless**: See the treatise on Elizabeth, *Works*, vi. 310. 'Childless she was indeed . . . a thing

¹ As Mr. Spedding says, this sentence might come under the heading 'Against.' But that it *may* come under 'For' appears from the following passage in the *In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ, Works*, Vol. vi. p. 296. 'Childlessness has been regarded in opposite ways. By some it has been taken to be a *diminution of our happiness*: ordained lest men should rise above the limitations of mortal blessings; by others it has been treated as *the pinnacle of happiness*, because no happiness seems to be complete except that which is set free from the caprice of fortune—a release that is impossible, if one leaves children behind one.' It is here regarded in the former way.

² Tiberius is said to have envied Priam the luxury of seeing his relations perish. But probably the meaning here is that expressed in the latter part of the quotation in the last note. 'Those who survive their children are 'set free from the caprice of fortune,' so far as regards posterity.

which has happened also to the most fortunate persons, as Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others.' See also Essay viii. l. 30. Bacon would appear to be violating the principles of his own cautious induction if he drew an inference from the simple enumeration of a number of instances necessarily small. David, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cromwell, Napoleon, Shakspeare, Milton, Mohammed, Charlemagne, Alfred, and Stein were not childless. Yet *a priori* it would be natural that childless men should have more time and means to devote to the service of posterity. [21] **Shames the mother**: This is explained (*De Augmentis V'III. Works*, vol. v. p. 40] as follows: 'For a wise and prudent son is of most comfort to the father, who knows the value of virtue better than the mother . . . But the mother has most sorrow and discomfort at the ill fortune of her son, both because the affection of a mother is more gentle and tender, and because she is conscious perhaps that she has spoiled and corrupted him by her indulgence.' [23] **Made wantons**: 'Treated like babies or playthings (Lat. 'in deliciis'). 'I am afeard you make a *wanton* of me,' says Hamlet (v. 2. 310) when Laertes *plays* with him, and will not fence his best. Cf. also *Euphues* (Arber's reprint, p. 36) 'thy parents made thee a *wanton* with too much cockering.' See also *ib.* p. 215. *Respected* means 'favoured'; cf. the phrase 'to *respect* persons.' The Lat. is 'pluris aestumari.' [30] **Proof**: 'That which is *proved*,' 'result of experience.' Compare *Twelfth Night*, iii. 1. 136, 'For 'tis a vulgar *proof* that very oft we pity enemies.' [35] **Sorteth**: It *turns out*; from Lat. 'sors,' a *lot* that is drawn or shaken *out* of a helmet. [51] **Optimum**, &c.: 'Choose what is best: it will be made pleasant and easy by custom.' A saying of Pythagoras, Plutarch, *De Exilio*, chap. viii. (W.)

VIII

Of Marriage and Single Life

On the subject of this Essay see Introduction, p. xlii.: the *Antitheta* will be found at the beginning of the notes of the previous Essay. The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 7-10; 15-20; 39-41, 'though . . . they'; 42-43, 'because . . . upon'; 57-63.

[Marriage contracts men's plans from posterity to the present, 1-10. It is avoided by some as an expense and restraint, 11-25. Celibacy is best for most relations of life, but it does not make the best subjects or soldiers, 26-37. Marriage makes men less liberal, but kinder, 38-43. Serious men are loving husbands; chaste wives are often proud; a jealous husband forfeits his wife's respect, 43-51. There will be always reasons for marrying and against it. Bad husbands have often good wives, 52-63.]

P. 22. [1] **Hostages**: i.e. he is under the power of Fortune, who can punish any attempt at rebellion and at independent action in the form of 'great enterprises,' by visiting the consequences of such conduct on the wife and children. The little evidence we have as to the character of Bacon's wife would lead to the inference that she was an 'impediment.' See Introduction, p. xlii. But the Romans, under the Republic, do not appear to have thought so; nor did Shakespeare. Portia did not prove an 'impediment' to Brutus, nor Lady Macbeth to Macbeth. When women are 'impediments,' the reason is, perhaps, that there is an artificial gulf between men's and women's education. [11] **Who**: For construction see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 249. [13] **Impertinencies**: 'Things not *pertaining to* or concerning themselves.' [16] **Because**: Equivalent to 'for the reason that, in order that.'

P. 23. [22] **Humourous**: *Eccentric*, Lat. 'phantasticis.' It once referred to *any humour*, as in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*: now it is narrowed to a *mirthful humour*. See *As You Like It*, i. 2. 278. [23] **As**: *that*. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 109. [29] **Churchmen**: *Ecclesiastics*. The 'ground' is society; the 'pool' is the family. It is noteworthy that Bacon, like Elizabeth, seems to have preferred a celibate clergy. On Bacon's depreciation of family life, see Introduction, p. cxlii. [31] **Indifferent**: *Neutral*; see *Essay* vi. l. 74. [33] **For soldiers**: *For* (as frequently) means 'as regards.' It is often used in the *Essays* as a means for introducing a noun early and emphatically in the sentence. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 149. [41] **Exhaust**: for 'exhausted'; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 342. [41] **They**: Repetition of subject; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 242. [46] **Vetulam**: 'He preferred his old wife to immortality.' Compare *Works*, vol. iii. 319; 'Ulysses . . . being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before excellency.' [54] **Quarrel**: Lat. 'querela,' 1st, *complaint*; 2nd, *plea*; 3rd, *ground*, *pretext*. In Lat. translation rendered 'ansa,' i.e. *handle*. [55] **Wise men**: Thales is said to have excused himself to his mother for not marrying by declaring at

first that he was too young to marry, and afterwards, that he was too old. *Plut. Symp. Probl.* ii. 6. (W.)

P. 24. [60] **Good wives**: It might be also argued, as in the case of Prophecies (*Essay* xxxv. l. 78) that the cases where bad husbands have good wives excite attention and are remembered, while the cases where bad husbands have bad wives excite no attention, and are forgotten.

IX

Of Envy

The following are the *Antitheta* :—

FOR.

1. It is natural to hate the living reproach of one's own ill-fortune.
2. Envy in a commonweal is a kind of wholesome ostracism.

AGAINST.

1. Envy keeps no holidays.
2. Envy can be reconciled to virtue by nought but death.
3. Envy tasks virtues, as Juno did Hercules.

[Envy, as well as love, works by material causes, 1-17. But, to pass from this to the nature of *enviers*, they are found among—(1) bad men; (2) busy-bodies; (3) noblemen; (4) deformed persons; (5) those that emerge to greatness from misfortunes; (6) those that desire to excel in too many matters; (7) kinsfolk, 23-71. Next, to describe *envied* persons, they are—(1) unworthy persons, at their first advancement; (2) worthy persons, after long-continued greatness. Persons *not so much envied* are (1) kings, as being free from comparison; (2) noblemen; (3) men whose honour brings burden, and who respect inferiors, 72-109. Insolence augments, concessions diminish, envy; but flank greatness is less envied than greatness cunningly dissembled, 110-124. Envy may be shifted on willing inferiors, 125-136. *Public envy*, or *Discontentment*, serves sometimes as a bridle to violent greatness. But it is a disease, and, like infection, is increased by fearing it, 137-153. In name it may attack ministers, but really it attacks the state, 154-163. Of all affections, envy is the busiest, the vilest, the most secret, and the worst, 163-176.]

P. 25. [2] **Fascinate**: This was 'by some' defined (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 381) as being 'the power and act of imagination intensive upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant. . . . Others that draw nearer to probability, calling to their view the secret passages of things, and especially of the contagion that

passeth from body to body,¹ do conceive it should likewise be agreeable to nature that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit without the medium of the senses.' And in the *Natural History, Works*, vol. ii. p. 653, he says: 'The affections (no doubt) do make the spirits more powerful and active; and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes; which are two, love and envy, which is called *oculus malus*. . . . It hath been noted also that it is most dangerous when an envious eye is cast upon persons in glory and triumph and joy; the reason whereof is for that, at such times, the spirits come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the percussion of the envious eye more at hand.' [5] **Into the eye**: They 'draw the spirits into the eye:' see the quotation above. [9] **Influences**: Used in its original sense of a 'stream' from the stars. Compare Milton's—

'And store of Ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence.' *L'Allegro*.

To the King, Bacon says, 'Since you are heavenly, you must have *influence*.' See also *Essay xi. Antitheta*. [9] **Aspects**: *Tr. and Cressida*, i. 3. 89, describes the 'glorious planet Sol . . . whose medicinable eye corrects the ill aspects of planets evil.' [9] **Still**: *Always, in each case*, i.e. both in the Scriptures and in Astrological descriptions. [11] **Ejaculation**: *Casting out*, now narrowed to a particular kind of *casting out*, viz. 'casting out abrupt sounds.' [12] **Curious**: 'Minutely careful;' Lat. 'cura,' *care*. [14] **Glory**. See note on l. 2 above. Whately (Bacon's *Essays*, p. 106) quotes a description of 'the bits of red cloth that are stuck about the dresses of women (in Cairo), and about the trappings of camels and horses, and the large spots of lamp-black which you may see on the foreheads of children. They are a sort of conductors. It is hoped that they will attract the glance and exhaust its venom.' [16] **Spirits**: Not 'spirit' in our sense of the word. Bacon maintained that every tangible object contained 'spirit': the 'spirit' in animals caused sweat, pulsation, voluntary motion. Through its lightness it naturally rose to the head, and issued at the eyes. 'The spirits,' he says 'are immediately affected both by *vapours and passions*.' *Works*, iv. 293. [18] **Curiosities**: 'Details care-

¹ In the Latin translation Bacon adds 'the irradiations of the senses, and the conveyance of magnetic virtues.'

fully worked out. See l. 12 above. There is a notion of *minute-ness* in the word. [25-8] **Good**: there seems a false antithesis between 'good' in the sense of 'goodness,' and 'evil'—not in the sense of 'wickedness'—but in the sense of 'misfortune.' The meaning would seem to be, 'For men's minds will either feed upon their own good (i.e. virtue), or upon other's evil (i.e. misfortune), and he that is without the one (i.e. virtue) will prey upon the other (i.e. the misfortunes of his neighbour).' If 'evil' meant 'wickedness,' it would be necessary to substitute some other words for 'depressing another's fortune;' e.g. 'corrupting another's nature.'

P. 26. [31] **Ado**: Lat. 'operosa illa sedulitas'; the meaning is, 'that *laborious* and *sedulous* inquisitiveness cannot so far profit the inquisitive man as to account in that way for his inquisitiveness.' [33] **Play-pleasure**: Such pleasure as one feels in seeing a stage-play: Lat. *scenicam quandam voluptatem*. [36] 'No one is meddling without also being malevolent.' Plautus, *Stichus*, l. 208. [44] **Deformed**, &c.: Compare—

'And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determin'd to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.'

Richard III. i. 1. 30.

For 'bastards' see *Lear*, i. 2. 1-22; for the 'heroical' bastard, see the character of Faulconbridge in *King John*. [46] **Wants**: *Defects*: in the Lat. tr. 'defectus' is used both in l. 45 and in l. 46. [49] **Narses**: The rival of Belisarius, conqueror of the Goths, and Exarch of Italy from 553 A.D. to 565 A.D., Gibbon, chap. xliii. [49] **Agésilas**: King of Sparta from 398 B.C. to 361 B.C. 'And for the deformity of his legs, the one being shorter than the other . . . he would merrily mock himself; which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish.' North's *Plutarch*, p. 511, Ed. 1656. [50] **Tamerlane**: or Timur, born 1335 A.D. 'However, though he were ever so lame, yet he caused several men to go upright who accounted themselves to be in a better plight and abler men than himself was.' Supplement to North's *Plutarch*, p. 47. Shakspeare would have utilised this lameness for dramatic purposes. Marlow, ignoring it, describes—

- • A Scythian shepherd, so embellish'd
With nature's pride and richest furniture,
* * * * *
Of stature tall and straightly fashioned.

Tamburlaine the Great, Acts i. and ii.

[51] **Rise**: The Lat. has 'resurgunt,' 'rise *again*.' Thus Marius, after exile, rising to power, redeemed his sufferings by other men's harms. It could scarcely be true of men that have *continuously* risen to greatness through trials and troubles: such men have generally shown sympathy with suffering. For the language, compare—

I am one, my liege,
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Have so incensed, that I am reckless what
I do to spite the world. *Macbeth*, ii. i. 108.

P. 27. [56] **Adrian**: Commonly called *Hadrian*, proclaimed Emperor of Rome A.D. 117. He is said to have banished the architect Apollodorus for severely criticising a plan of a temple sent him by the emperor. [61] **Vein**: A 'natural disposition'; see Essay i. l. 7, and cf. *Euphues* (Arber's reprint, p. 115), 'search every vaine and sinewe of their disposition.' [62] **Near kinsfolk**: Bacon may have had in his mind his cousin Cecil, whom, as would appear from some of his letters, he suspected of keeping him out of office. See also Introduction, p. xlix. [65] **Pointeth**: Points them out with the finger of contempt; 'them' means the unpromoted enviers. [66] **Incurreth**: 'Runs against,' obtrudes itself; a Latinism. [71] **To look on**: No spectator of Cain's disgrace, and therefore less excuse for Cain's anger and envy. [83] **For, &c.**: This hardly seems a sufficient reason; for 'fresh men' would also grow up and discredit the unworthy persons as well as the worthy. But perhaps it may be explained by the fact that—exaggerating both defects and virtues—we expect too little from those whom we call unworthy, and too much from those whom we call worthy. Thus the former do better and the latter do worse than we expected.

P. 28. [94] **Travels**: Labours; Fr. travail. [101] **Not that they**: This leaves us in doubt whether Bacon is chanting a *quantum patimur* or expressing his real feelings in Essay xi. ll. 5-20, 'Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy.' For Bacon's *quantum patimur*, as chanted in his correspondence, see Introduction, p. xxi. The allusion may be to Cecil, who wrote *A Treatise concerning the State and Dignity of a Secretary of State, with the Care and Peril thereof*. [105] **Engrossing**: 'Buying in the gross to sell at a profit.' [112] **Never well**: The Lat. has 'nunquam sibi placentes,' i.e. 'never content unless, &c.' [116] **Of**: 'As the

result of;' *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 175. [116] **To be crossed** : This was Leicester's habit with Elizabeth ; and Bacon exhorted Essex to imitate Leicester ; Introduction, p. xliii. [122] **Disavow** : i.e. 'disown as being unfairly favourable to him.'

P. 29. [128] **Lot** : I have found no instance of '*removing* the lot.' But *lot-teller* and *lottery* are given by Richardson as old equivalents for *sorcerer* and *sorcery* (Lat. *sortarius*, 'one who casts lots'). It would appear that some 'lot,' or symbol of impending evil, being *removed* from one man to another, was supposed to transfer the evil destiny with itself. [131] **Derive** : Lat. *de*, from ; *rivus*, a stream ; hence 'to drain off from.' [138] **Under-taking** : Enterprising. See Essay xi. l. 37. [137] **Yet** : *Yet* implies some statement understood, e.g. '(Public envy is liable to abuse, but) *yet* there is some good in it.' [139] **Ostracism** : See the *Antitheta* above. [150] **Plausible** : 'that *ought* to be applauded.' It now means 'that *are likely* to be applauded without cause.' [153] **Them** : See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 248, 249. [157] **If the envy, &c.** : See *Life* vii. 199, for the reported conclusion of Bacon's interview with the King before his condemnation for bribery : 'He took leave of him with these words, "Those that will strike at your Chancellor, it is much to be feared, will strike at your Crown."'

P. 30. [164] **Importune** : Importunate. [167] 'Envy keeps no holidays.' See *Antitheta* above. [172] **Devil** : The word *devil* means *slanderer*, i.e. one that slanders God to men, and also (in the language of the Book of Job) slanders men to God.

X.

Of Love

The following are the *Antitheta* :—

FOR.

- i. Do you not see that every one seeks himself? But only the lover finds himself.

AGAINST.

- i. The stage owes much to love life owes nothing.

2. The mind cannot be better regulated than by the command of some pre-eminent passion.
3. The wise man should try to long for something; for the man that desires nothing strongly, finds the world unpleasant and tedious.
4. Being *one*, why should not a man be content with *one*?
2. Nothing is so shiftily as love: for it is either so foolish that it does not know its own nature, or is so vile that it hides itself in paint.
3. I hate your *people of one care*.
4. Love is a very narrow philosophy.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 3-27, 57-64.

[Love is fitter for the stage than for life and business, 1-17. Love is the great flatterer, and the lover loses both himself and riches and wisdom, 18-46. Love is strongest when men are weakest; it must not be suffered to interfere with business, 47-56. There is the soldier's love, which is sensual; the friar's, which is philanthropic; and also nuptial love, friendly love, and wanton love, 57-66.]

P. 31. [1] **Beholding to**: 'Held bound or obliged, to'; *S&H. Grammar*, Par. 372. [4] **Siren**, &c.: 'Sometimes decoying men to ruin with the bait of pleasure, sometimes goading them to ruin with the stings of jealousy.' [9] **Great spirits**: See 'good spirits' above, in Essay ii. l. 36. Alexander the Great, speaking of the mere sensual passion of love, said that two things reminded him that he was mortal, love and sleep. [12] **Appius Claudius**: The allusion is to the story of Virginia and the Decemvir, told in Lord Macaulay's 'Lays.' See the *Conference of Pleasure*, p. 12: 'Love is an idle man's occupation; but it catcheth the busiest. Can a tyrant be idle the first year of his usurpation? See Appius and Virginia. Could the state and enleagu'd enemy of Octavius Cæsar want what to think? See Antony and Cleopatra.' There is not much foundation for calling Appius 'wise,' though he may be called 'austere' in the sense of severe. [19] **Saying**: 'One may find in one's neighbour a theatre large enough.' Bacon uses the words in a general sense. But they were originally used with a special signification: 'It was well said by Epicurus, when writing to one of his companions in philosophy: "This," says he, "I do not intend for the crowd, but for you; for you and I are crowd enough for one another."' Seneca, *Epist.* i. 7. 11. Cf. Ovid, 'in solis tu mihi *turba* locis.'

P. 32. [22] **Little idol** : Lat. 'idolum minutum,' apparently meaning the 'eye': in bowing down to beauty, the lover is regarded as the slave of his own eye. [26] **Braves** : *Insults* by exaggeration; despises and disregards the true value of things. The Lat. *insultet*, shows that *braves* does not here mean 'adorns.' There is a play on the double meaning of the word, in 'Thou (the tailor) hast *braved* many men, *brave* not me.' *Taming of Shrew*, iv. 3. 129. [28] **Phrase** : 'The lover is a flatterer, not merely in speech but in thought.' [29] **Arch-flatterer** : By Plutarch, *De adul. et Amico*, ii. ; *Op. Mor.* 48, p. 48, F. (W.) See the *Conference*, p. 12. [34] **Impossible**, &c. : Publilii Syri, *Sent.* 15. (W.) [42] **Relation** : *Narrative* (of the choice of Paris). See *Machbeth*, iv. 3. 173. Compare *Antitheta* xvii., *Works*, Vol. i. p. 965. 'All that (like Paris) fix their choice on beauty, lose knowledge, i.e. the gift of Pallas, and power, i.e. the gift of Juno.' Juno offered power as well as riches. [47] **His** : *Its* was scarcely used in Bacon's time. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 228. [48] **Weakness** : Note here that Bacon speaks his mind less conventionally than in the Essay on Adversity. 'Great Adversity,' he assumes, as a matter of course, to be a 'time of weakness.' [53] **Keep quarter** : Lat. 'in ordinem redigunt,' i.e. 'reduce to order.' From meaning a *fourth* part, the word came to be applied to the *four* parts or *quarters* of the hemisphere, thence to any parts or divisions, thence to the divisions of a town, e.g. 'the Jews' *quarter*,' thence to military *quarters* or lodgings. To make men 'keep their *quarter* (more often *quarters*)' was to confine them. To 'give *quarter*' was to send a prisoner to one's own *quarters*. [54] **Check** : First, from the game at chess 'to bring to a stand.' Second, in falconry, of an ill-trained falcon, 'to bring oneself to a stand,' to 'pause abruptly in flight,' when diverted from the quarry by some other object :—

'And, like the haggard, *check* at every feather.'

Twelfth Night, iii. 1. 71.

Whether from (1) or (2), the meaning of '*check* with,' here, is 'to *interfere* with.'

P. 33. [56] **Ways** : Possessive sing. ; Adverbial form. Compare *now-a-days*. [62] **Spread** : Cf. Essay viii. 1. 30, 'Charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool.' [64] **Nuptial**, &c. : Bacon omits all consideration of the influence of Love upon men in purifying their character and stimulating their

energies. Nuptial love is here briefly despatched in the words that it 'maketh mankind'; and the following brief mention to his cousin Cecil of his own approaching marriage is in the same strain: 'Lastly' (after mentioning several details of money matters), 'for this divulged and almost prostituted title of knighthood, I could without charge, by your Honour's mean, be content to have it, both because of this late disgrace, and because I have three new knights in my mess in Gray's Inn commons, and because I have found out an alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden, to my liking.' He was married in his 46th year. See Introduction, p. xli.

It is true that, in thus placing friendly love above nuptial love, Bacon is following the ancient tradition of the Greeks and Romans; but then their ideal of friendship was higher, and their ideal of marriage far lower, than with us. Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, did not regulate their friendships by that precept of Bias which Bacon so sedulously recommends. See Introduction, p. xlii.

XI

Of Great Place

The following are the *Antitheta* on *Office* :—

FOR.

1. Office is not the pawn¹ in the game of despots (as the saying goes), but in that of Divine Providence.
2. Office gives publicity to virtues and vices, spurring the former while it bridles the latter.
3. No one can know what progress he has made in virtue's race, unless office gives him an arena.

AGAINST.

1. While we seek office we divest ourselves of freedom.
2. Office mostly enables us to do just those things for which it is best not to have the wish, and next best not to have the power.
3. In office, the ascent is toilsome, the standing slippery, the regress headlong.

¹ Or the meaning may be, instead of 'pawn,' voting-pegble.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4. Virtue, like other things, moves violently to her place, but calmly in her place: and virtue's place is office.</p> | <p>4. Men in office need borrow the popular opinion about themselves, in order to fancy themselves happy.</p> |
|---|---|

The following are the *Antitheta* to *Command* :—

- | FOR. | AGAINST. |
|--|--|
| <p>1. It is a great blessing to enjoy happiness, but it is a still greater to be able to impart it to others also.</p> | <p>1. How wretched, to have nothing to desire and everything to fear!</p> |
| <p>2. Kings are not as men, but as the stars, for they have a great 'influence' not only on private persons, but even on the very seasons of States.</p> | <p>2. Men in command are like the heavenly bodies, which have great honour but no rest.</p> |
| <p>3. To resist God's vicegerent is not treason merely, but a kind of rebellion against God.</p> | <p>3. No one of human rank is admitted to the feasts of the gods, except to make them sport.</p> |

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 25-27, 'like—scorn'; 52-53, 'not—avoid'; 84-87, 'Therefore—steal it.'

[Great place is a servitude, which men cannot and will not quit. Whether acquired, or retained, or lost, office brings pain with it, 1-30. Yet it gives scope for good works, and therefore is the lawful object of aspirations, 31-45. In office, look to precedent and to present circumstances; be consistent, but in reason: preserve your own rights, and value the rights and services of inferiors, 46-72. Avoid delays, corruption (or the suspicion of corruption), roughness, and *facility*, 73-98. Office amends some characters, but impairs others, 99-110. A man may rise as a partisan; but in office he must be impartial, and respectful both to his predecessors and to his colleagues. He must not import official formality into private life, 111-122.]

P. 34. [3] **So as:** *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 109. Their *persons* are at the disposal of their *Sovereign*; their *actions* must be regulated with a view to *Fame*; and *business* exacts every moment of their *time*. [6] **Lose:**¹ The Latin translator has here 'exuere,' 'to divest oneself of,' as in the *Antitheta* on Office, *Against*, 1,

¹ So Goethe:

'Wollen alle Herren seyn,
Und keiner ist Herr von sich.'

above. [11] **Cum**, &c.: The Infinitive *esse* is explained by the original, which is, 'It is an old proverb that when you are no longer what you have been, there is no longer reason for wishing to live.' Cicero, *Epist. Fam.* vii. 3. 4. For Bacon's powerlessness in office, see Introduction, pp. cxxx. cxxxi. [14] **Privateness**: not *privacy*, but *private life*, as opposed to public and official life. [15] **The shadow**: i.e. the shadow of home, as opposed to toil in the sunlight of publicity. The regular Latin for 'a life of contemplation' is '*vita umbratilis*.' [18] **Had need**: but this may be the hypocritical *quanta patimur*. See Essay ix. 100.

P. 35. [29] **III**, &c., 'Death comes with all its terrors on him who dies notorious to the world, a stranger to himself.' [33] **To can**: Cf. *Hamlet*, iv. 7. 85. But I cannot recall another instance of the infinitive thus used. For the whole passage, cf. the saying of the Persian, Herod. ix. 16, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδὴν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἴτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν. [40] **Conscience**: Here *consciousness*, as in Latin *conscientia*. Cf. Milton's second sonnet to Cyriack Skinner:—

What supports me, dost thou ask?

The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In liberty's defence.

[41] **Theatre**: i.e. spectacle; 'If a man can look back upon the accomplishment of good works.' [42] **Et**, &c.: *Gen.* i. 31, from memory, Cf. *Works*, i. 145, and the last line of the *Faerie Queene*, 'O that great Sabbaoth God graunt me that Sabbaoth sight.' [47] **Globe**: The word seems to be used for a compressed and arranged mass, as distinct from an unarranged multitude; cf. 'One of his Majesty's principal counsellors in causes of estate, did use a speech that contained a world of matter; but how I shall be able to make a globe of that world, therein I fear mine own strength.' [52] **Taxing**: From Lat. *taxo*, which has the double meaning of 'to tax' and 'to censure.' Here 'censuring.' Yet, taking his seat as Lord Chancellor, Bacon speaks of his predecessor as one 'of whom I learn much to imitate and somewhat to avoid,' or, as Rawley's copy reads, 'and, with due reverence to his memory let me speak it, much to avoid.' *Life*, Vol. vi. 189. [54] **Bravery**: boastfulness. See Essay x. l. 26. [56] **Reduce**, &c.: Lat. 'retrahe,' 'bring back everything to its origin.' Machiavelli (*Discourses*, iii. 1) devotes a chapter to show that 'a Sect or Com-

monwealth be long-liv'd, it is necessary to correct it often, and *reduce it toward its first Principles.*' The antithesis between 'best' and 'fittest' implies that what was *best* in the good old times may not be *fittest* in the new degenerate times. Thus Cicero complained that Cato was for legislating as though he were in the Republic of Plato and not in the dregs of the Republic of Romulus. See the account of the necessity for political development and innovation given by Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 8. 16-22.

P. 36. [62] **Express thyself well:** Make thy meaning perfectly *clear*. Cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 6. 55. So Lat. 'quid sit quod agas diligenter expone.' [65] **Jurisdiction:** There is perhaps here an allusion to the conduct of Coke, who 'stirred a question' as to the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, for which he was disgraced by the King, *Life*, v. 246. [66] **Voice:** Declare noisily. [76] **Interlace:** i.e. '*interlace* not, mix not, business (with other business).' [87] **Steal:** Here to 'perform secretly.' Compare, "'Twere good methinks to *steal* our marriage.' *Taming of the Shrew*, iii. 2. 142. [88] **Inward:** *Intimate*. [90] **Close:** Secret. Compare 'the *close* contriver of all harms.' *Macbeth*, iii. 5. 7. [93] **Facility:** '*Easiness* in changing one's opinions.' Mr. Wright quotes *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 23. 5, 'A judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly (i.e. readily) as a *facile*.' This passage also shows the meaning of *respects* in l. 95: it means 'a *respecting* of persons,' i.e. favouring. See Essay xiv. l. 14; vii. l. 22.

P. 37. [99] **It:** The construction is, 'It that was anciently spoken is most true.' This is also the construction in such expressions as 'Who was *it* (the person) that said so?' '*It* was I that said so;' i.e. '*it* that said so was *I*.' [99] **Anciently:** Attributed to Pittacus, Solon, and Bias. [101] **Unanim:** 'An unanimous verdict would have judged him fit for empire, had he been never emperor.' Tacit. *Hist.* i. 49. [103] **Solus, &c.:** 'Vespasian was the only emperor that was improved by empire.' The original (Tacit. *Hist.* i. 50) has 'the only emperor, if one reckoned up his predecessors.' [105] **Sufficiency:** The Latin has 'though Tacitus understand the former of *administrative capacity*, but the latter of moral nature and disposition.' [106] **Whom:** There appears to be a confusion of constructions between (1) 'when honour amends,' and (2) 'he whom honour amends is,' &c. [108] **In nature:** See *Antitheta*, *For*, 4, above; also Introduction, p. lxxxii. [112]

To side a man's self: i.e. 'to place oneself on one side or other,' Lat. '*alteri parti adherere.*' Compare *Essay* li. l. 10, 'Mean men in their rising must *adhere,*' i.e. 'must *side themselves.*' See also *Essay* li. l. 47, 'Kings had need to beware how they *side themselves,*' i.e. take sides with one or other party. [115] **Debt:** The Latin has 'this debt' (of unkindness) 'will be paid you back by your successor,' as though the malignant judge had paid an unkindness which was now to be *paid back* to him. But for this, it would be more natural to explain it, 'posterity will pay the debt to your predecessor's reputation at the expense of your own.' [117] **Call them:** Cf. *Life*, vi. 187. 'The last point of excess is, if a Chancellor shall be so much of himself as he shall neglect assistance of reverend Judges in cases of difficulty (especially if they touch upon law), or, calling them, shall do it but *pro forma tantum,* and give no due respect to their opinions; wherein my Lords . . . I shall never be found so sovereign or abundant in mine own sense, but I shall both desire and make use of assistance.' [119] **Sensible:** Sensitive. So *Merch.* ii. 8. 48, Cf. 'Sense and Sensibility.'

XII

Of Boldness

The *Antitheta* on Boldness are:—

- | FOR. | AGAINST. |
|---|--|
| 1. Bashfulness encourages fault-finding. | 1. Boldness is the pioneer of folly. |
| 2. What action is to the orator, that is boldness to the statesman—the first need, the second, and the third. | 2. Shamelessness is useless except for impostures. |
| 3. I like a frank but not a guilty shame. | 3. Self-confidence is the tyrant of fools, but the laughing-stock of the wise. |
| 4. A confident bearing brings minds the sooner together. | 4. Boldness is a mixture of dull sense and wicked will. |
| 5. I like a reserved face, but a frank tongue. | |

There are many indications that Bacon, though he affects to despise boldness, yet recognised his own deficiency in boldness. In his note-book (*Life*, iv. 94) he records a resolution 'to free myself at once from payment of formality and compliment, though with some show of carelessness, pride, and rudeness.' Conscious of nervousness (ib.), he resolves 'to use at once, upon entrance given, of speech, though abrupt, to compose and draw in myself;' and again (ib. 52), 'to correspond with Salisbury in a habit of natural but noways perilous boldness.' Even for the diffusion of his philosophic theories he sometimes thought that boldness might be useful, and (ib. 66) he speaks of 'taking a greater confidence and authority in discourses of this nature, *tanquam sui certus et de alto despiciens*, i.e. as though one were sure of one's position, and looking down on others from on high;' and again (ib. 64), 'discouraging scornfully of the philosophy of the Græcians with some better respect to the Egyptians, Persians, Chaldees, and the utmost antiquity and mysteries of the poets.'

[As action appeals to human nature in oratory, so does boldness in civil business; especially in democracies, 1-25. As there are bold quacks among physicians, so are there among politicians, and nothing abashes them, 26-41. Boldness is often ridiculous and always blind; it is a good officer, but a bad general, 42-60.]

P. 38 [1] **It**: refers to the following story. *Trivial* means 'trite' or 'common': see Essay iii. l. 72. [4] **Action**: The story is told by Cicero, *Orator*, xvii. It must be remembered (Hare's *Guesses at Truth*, p. 398) 1st, that *action* included all the circumstances of delivery, viz., play of feature, the glance of the eye, and not merely the movements of the hand; 2nd, that Demosthenes, having failed at first through want of action, may have been led to overrate it. [14] **Wonderful**: Adj. for Adverb; *Sh. Grammar*, Par. I. [16] **Boldness**: So Danton magnified *boldness* when the Prussians entered France in 1792, Chambers' *Biogr. Dict.* [29] **Grounds**, &c.: 'Since they have no knowledge of the *principles* (Lat. *principia*) of science, they cannot continue successful.'

P. 39 [22] **Popular**: Democratic; but sometimes (see Introduction, p. xliii.) the word means 'demagogic.' [26] **Mountebank**: (By derivation, 'a mount-bench') commonly used for a 'quack.' Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 10. 2, 'They will often prefer a *mountebank* or witch before a learned physician.' [40] **Slight**:

'Make light of'; Lat. 'lusu rem excipient,' 'will meet the matter with a joke.' 'Make a turn' (Lat. 'se vertent'), seems to mean 'they will turn right round.' [49] **Spirits**: See Essay ix. l. 16. The Lat. has for 'in bashfulness,' 'in verecundantibus,' i.e. 'in men that are bashful.' The meaning seems to be that 'in ordinary persons, under the influence of shame, the tide of vital spirits, flowing or ebbing, produces a corresponding change of expression in the features; but the spirits of bold men, being more sluggish, leave the fixed expression of boldness, even in circumstances that make bold action an absurd impossibility: the bold man is like a king in chess, stale-mated. He is not beaten, yet cannot move.'

P. 40 [59] **Not to see**: Yet (*Works*, vol. i. 697) Bacon says, 'The man that looks at dangers open-eyed to front them, will also give due heed to avoid them.'

. XIII

Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 10-23; 60-64; 72-86.

Not a word is said in this Essay as to the means of forming a habit of Goodness. This (see Introduction, p. cxlviii.) is treated of in the *De Augmentis*, *Works*, v. 29.

[By Goodness is meant *Philanthropia*, something more than mere kindness. It answers to Charity, and may be ill-directed, but cannot be excessive. It is innate in all mankind, 1-21. Goodness should be directed by right reason so as not to consult the caprice but the interests of mankind, and it should discriminate as to persons and means, 22-52. As there is a natural *Philanthropia*, so are there natural *Misanthropi*, fit for nothing but chicanery, 52-71. The signs of goodness are courtesy, compassion, placability, thankfulness, and, above all, entire self-sacrifice, 72-86.]

P. 41. [1] **Affecting**: Desiring. See Essay i. l. 3. [2] **Philanthropia**: With the Greeks this word meant *kindliness*. Bacon seems to mean rather more. *That is*, of course, for *that which*. [3] **Humanity**: In Latin, *humanitas* is little more than *courtesy*; and probably to Bacon little more than this was the meaning conveyed by *humanity*. 'Literæ humaniores,' or 'polite

letters,' is still rendered by 'the humanities' in Scotland. [6] **Character**: The word is used by Shakspeare to denote, 1st, writing; 2nd, writing peculiar to an individual (handwriting); 3rd, the writing of the mind on a man's features, the 'expression.' Compare:—

'I will believe thou hast a mind that suits
With this thy fair and outward *character*.'
Twelfth Night, i. 2. 51.

And this is what the word means here, the 'expression' of the Divine Nature; or, as in the Latin translation, 'ipsius Divinæ Naturæ adumbrata quædam effigies et character.' [7] **Busy**: Lat. 'inquieta,' 'restless.' By 'answers to' is meant 'corresponds to:' it is the 'habit' (see above where he says, 'goodness, I call the habit') that naturally follows from Charity. The Greek word translated 'charity' in our E. V. meant 'love.' [7] **Man**: The Latin has 'homo animalis,' 'the mere animal man.' [19] **Busbecchius**: Twice sent by Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany, as ambassador to Solyman, about 1555 A.D., when the Turks had conquered Transylvania and nearly all Hungary. Of the Turks he says, 'They make their own wills forsooth the sole rule of all reason, right or wrong.' He recorded his two embassages in two letters, and also wrote 'A Method of Warfare against the Turk,' and other works. He died in 1592 A.D. The 'boy' mentioned in this allusion is more correctly described in the Latin translation as a *Venetian goldsmith*. [20] **Waggishness**: It is to be remarked here that Bacon has not a word to say against the *waggishness* of the *Christian boy*. Elsewhere (see Introduction, p. xliii.), while condemning vivisection of men, he assumes its lawfulness when applied to animals, without restriction or justification. See also *Works*, v. 316, where Bacon can understand an executioner's using despatch, as he is paid for it; but sees 'no reason why a sacrificing priest should use similar despatch (in disembowelling an ox).' On the other hand, Mr. Spedding urges that 'he had breeding swans and feeding swans' (*Works*, i. 14), and also quotes (*Life*, vii. 444) a note of preparation for a conference, 'I have somewhat of the French: I love birds as the French king doth;' and a story of a saying of Bacon's (*Life*, vi. 222), 'every gentleman doth love a dog.' Not much can be inferred from the third of these sayings, which was a rebuke to a man (who was not in good odour with Bacon) for beating a dog from a stool in his presence;

the first seems to prove nothing but that Bacon liked swans as food and as ornaments for his gardens, and the third instance seems to prove little more. See note on *Essay* xvi. l. 227.

P. 42. [25] **Good for nothing** : So, in French, *bonhomme*, 'simpleton : ' and, in Greek, *euthes* ('well-natured') has the same meaning. Cf. 'silly,' which once meant 'blessed.' [26] **Machiavel** : If the reference is, as it probably is, to the *Discourses* II. ii., Machiavelli is shamefully slandered here. His words are : 'So that it seems to me this way of living, so contrary to the ancients, has rendered the Christians weak and effeminate, and left them as a prey to those who are more wicked and may order them as they please—the most part of them thinking more of Paradise than Preferment, and of enduring than revenging of injuries : as if heaven was to be won rather by idleness than arms. *But that explication of our Religion is erroneous, and they who made it were poor and pusillanimous, and more given to their ease than anything that was great. For, if the Christian Religion allows us to defend and exalt our country, it allows us certainly to love it and honour it, and prepare ourselves so as we may be able to defend it.*' A far more objectionable passage is the following from *The Prince*, ch. xiv. : 'The present manner of living is so different from the way that ought to be taken, that he who neglects what is done to follow what ought to be done will sooner learn how to ruin than how to preserve himself ; for a tender man, and one that desires to be honest in everything, must needs run a great hazard among so many of a contrary principle. Wherefore it is necessary for a Prince that is willing to subsist to harden himself, and learn to be good or otherwise according to the exigence of his affairs.' In the *De Augmentis*, lib. vii. (*Works*, vol. v. p. 17), Bacon speaks highly of the service rendered by Machiavelli : 'We are much beholden to Machiavelli and other writers of that class, who openly and unfeignedly declare or describe what men do, and not what they ought to do. For it is not possible to join the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove, except men be perfectly acquainted with the nature of evil itself ; for without this, virtue is open and unfenced.' See Introduction, pp. cxxxv.—cxli. [35] **Their faces** : i.e. 'Do not try servilely to gratify each man's whims and caprices as soon as they find expression in his face. [37] **Æsop's cock** : *Phædrus*, iii. 12. [41] **Shine** : Used transitively, by attraction to 'rain.' *Common* does not mean 'common

place,' but 'those that are the common property of.' [56] **Natural malignity**: Compare *Essay* iv. l. 16, 'And if any man should do wrong merely out of *ill nature*.'

P. 43 [57] **Affect**: *Desire*; see *Essay* i. l. 3, note. [58] **Crossness**: means the spirit of *crossing* or *thwarting*. *Difficiness* is a Latinism meaning 'harshness,' 'moroseness;' such conduct as one expects from a person who is *difficult* to deal with. [61] **In season**: 'In their happy time.' The Lat. has 'florent.' [62] **Loading part**: Loading is a Verbal Noun, here used Adjectively as 'walking' is in '*walking-stick*.' This solution probably applies to the passages in *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 372, which are there differently, and, as I now think, wrongly explained, e.g. *Antony*, &c., iii. 13. 77. [63] **Still**: *Always*. [65] **And yet**: Mr. Spedding seems to be right in explaining this to mean '*and yet* they do not, as Timon did, openly profess their philanthropy.' Shakespeare borrows, from North's Plutarch, Timon's speech as follows:—

'I have a tree, which grows here in my garden,
That mine own use invites me to cut down,
And shortly must I fell it: tell my friends,
Tell Athens in the sequence of degree
From high to low throughout, that whoso please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste,
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,
And hang himself.'

Timon of Athens, v. 2. 208-15.

[69] **Knee-timber**: *Crooked*, as the leg is at the knee: Lat. '*lignis incurvis*.' The sentence is noteworthy as showing Bacon's low estimate of the politicians of the day. See *Essay* xviii. l. 76. [82] **Trash**: Brutus speaks (*Julius Caesar*, iv. 3. 74) of wringing 'from the hard hands of peasants their vile *trash*.' The word originally meant 'the clippings of trees;' hence refuse of any kind. See Wedgwood's *Dict. of English Etymology*.

XIV

Of Nobility

The following are the *Antitheta*.—

FOR.

1. Those who have virtue in the blood find baseness not so much alien to them as impossible.
2. Nobility is the laurel wreath wherewith men are crowned by Time.
3. We respect antiquity even in lifeless monuments; how much more in living ones!
4. If one is to despise nobility in a man's relations, what will be the difference between the offspring of men and the offspring of beasts?
5. Nobility withdraws virtue from envy and recommends it to favour.

AGAINST.

1. It is rare for virtue to beget nobility; still rarer for nobility to beget virtue.
2. Noblemen more often have to thank their ancestry for pardon than for advancement.
3. Such is the energy of rising men, that by their sides noblemen seem motionless statues.
4. Noblemen look back too often in the race—a sign of a bad runner.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain that portion of the Essay which deals with Nobility as 'a portion of an estate,' ll. 1-31, 'we will—persons.'

For illustrations of the first half of the Essay, see *Essays* xv and xxix., and Introduction, p. cxix.

[Nobility is necessary to prevent monarchy from becoming despotism, but is unnecessary for democracies, 1-18. It dignifies but limits the sovereign, for whom it should be a bulwark (but not too high) against the people. The nation gains spirit but loses wealth from nobility, which must therefore not multiply too much, 18-30. A family of ancient nobility is a revered thing, as being the creation of Time as well as of Power. It implies ability (though not always innocence) in the founder. Noblemen are inclined to indolence and envy, but they are useful officers for the sovereign, as being less envied and born to command, 31-52.]

P. 44. [1] **Estate**: Here *State*; the Lat. has '*rei publicæ*.' [2] **Particular**: 'Regarded as single,' 'individual.' [9] **Stirps**: Seems intended to be a Plural Noun. The towns of Switzerland and the Netherlands might be taken as instances of democracies without *stirps*, Florence as an instance of democracy with *stirps* of nobility. [11] **Flags**: Here used for the *insignia* of a noble house; Lat. has *insignium*. [14] **Respects**: i.e. '*respecting* of persons,' '*respect* for the nobility or social position of this or that man,' The Lat. has *dignitas*. [16] **Excel, &c.**: Cf. note on Essay xxix. l. 94, where it is stated that in Amsterdam no one 'doth murmur at the monstrous accises.' For Bacon's dispassionate view of the merits of different forms of Government, see Introduction, p. cvi. [17] **Indifferent**: *Impartial*.

P. 45. [25] **A numerous nobility**: See Essay xxix. l. 102: 'Let States that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast.' [33] **How much more**: See *Antitheta*, For, 3, above. [38] **More virtuous**: The meaning seems to be 'more richly endowed with excellent faculties,' *virtue* being used not in its narrow moral sense, but in its larger sense of 'every manly excellence.' [40] **Evil arts**: This is one among many cases where the tone of the Essays is less conventional and more worldly than that of the *De Augmentis*. Cf. *Works*, v. p. 75-6, where he says that he has set down none but *Good Arts* for Advancement in Life. 'As for *Evil Arts*, . . . I will not certainly deny that (with these dispensations from all the laws of charity and virtue, and an entire devotion to the pressing of his fortune) he may advance it quicker and more compendiously. But it is in life as it is in ways, *the shortest way is commonly the foulest and muddiest; and surely the fairer way is not much about.*' [47] **Passive**: 'Being envied' is called *passive*, antithetically to the *active* envying or 'motions of envy' mentioned in the last sentence. [51] **Into**: Either (1) 'kings will find a greater smoothness (entering) *into* their business'; or (2) 'they will find (persons) slide better *into*, i.e. conforming themselves more smoothly with, their business.' The Lat. is '*negotia sua mollius fluere sentient*,' i.e. 'will find their business flow more smoothly.'

See Introduction, p. cxix. And cf. Burke (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Clar. Press Ed. p. 164): 'Nobility is a graceful ornament to the civil order. It is the Corinthian capital of polished society. . . . He feels no ennobling principle in his own

heart who wishes to level all the artificial institutions which have been adopted for giving a body to opinion and permanence to fugitive esteem.'

XV

Of Seditious and Troubles¹

The MS. of 1607-12 omits lines 17-28, 'especially—long-lived'; 33-36, 'especially—audaciously'; 40-47, 'as—possession'; 66-67, 'concerning—followeth'; 70-74, 'concerning—fire'; 82-87, 'and if—worst'; 93, 'who—good'; 97-107; 118-174; 215-230.

[Sedition may be foreknown by prognostications, among which are fames and libels—often best suppressed by contempt; half-hearted obedience; partisanship in the Sovereign; open factiousness; independent action among the great nobles; in a word, the shaking of any of the four pillars of government, Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure, 1-69. The *Material* of Sedition is either poverty and consequent desire for war, or discontentment, against which no prince can be secure, 70-105. The *Motives* of Sedition are innovations affecting the 'four pillars of government,' 106-111. The *Remedies* of Sedition are (1) the removal of poverty by keeping down population, by encouraging industry, economy, and commerce, and increasing and diffusing wealth; (2) the removal of discontentment by conciliating the common people, by giving moderate liberty for complaint, and by encouraging hopes, 157-194. Other remedies are, to make factions leaderless and divided, and beware of hasty utterances, 95-229. The last remedy is military force, 230-241.]

P. 46. [1] **Calendars**: 1st, A register of the *calends* (the first, lit. *calling* or *summoning* days) of the months; 2nd, an anticipatory register of the phases of the moon, &c., in each month. Hence, here, 'accurate predictions,' Lat. *prognostica*.

P. 46. [3] **Equality**: This argument is a specimen of 'the knowledge of making the government of the world a mirror for the government of a state . . . a wisdom almost lost'; see Introduction, p. lxxxiii. There is no argument here at all, nothing but a false analogy, which appears to be something of this kind: 'As, in the world, storms are most frequent when the days are equal to the nights, so, in the State, seditious are most frequent when the lower

¹ Compare with this Essay the discussion of seditions in the ancient commonwealths, in Aristotle's *Politics*, bk. v.

orders rise to an equality with the higher.' *Equality* (Lat. 'aequalitas'), as applied to the State, seems to mean 'levelling of degrees.' Compare the harangue of Ulysses on 'degree,' *Troilus and Cressida*, i. 3. 83-101. [6] **Ille**, &c.: Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 465. 'He also (the sun) often warns us of the approach of unseen troubles and of gathering treason and dark-plotted wars.' [11] **Virgil**: *Aeneid*, iv. 179. 'She was the last child of Earth (so goes the tale), sister to Enceladus and Cœus, brought forth by her mother when maddened by the wrath of the gods.' This (*Works*, Vol. iii. 345) is thus expounded, 'that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people (which is the mother of rebellion) doth bring forth *libels* and slanders, and taxations of the state, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more *feminine*.' See also *King John*, iv. 2. 140-200.

P. 47 [19] **Plausible**: Deserving of applause. See *Essay ix*, l. 150. [21] **Tacitus**: *Hist.* i. 7. 'When envy is once roused, good actions are as much assailed as bad.' The original has, in place of the italicised words, 'when an emperor is once hated.' [24] **That**: Grammatically incorrect, but inserted for clearness. [27] **Goings about**: Lat. 'conatus sedulus,' 'sedulous attempt.' For the use of *about*, cf. *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 617. [28] **Tacitus**: *Hist.* ii. 39. 'They remained outwardly faithful, but in such a way as to show a preference for putting their own interpretations on the orders of their commanders, rather than for obeying them.' The original has, instead of the words italicised, 'The soldiers were ready.' [34] **Which**: Note, *which* and *that* seemingly used indifferently. See *Essay v*, l. 2. [37] **Machiavel**: Perhaps this refers to the *Discourses*, iii. 27, where it is said, 'if in France any man should pronounce himself of the king's party, he would be sure to be punished, because it would imply that there is a party against the king.' The phrase *common parents* seems a translation from the Italian *padre commune* in *Essay xli*, l. 45. [42] **League**: The Holy League, as it was called, dates from 1575; it was warmly supported by the citizens of Paris and headed by the house of Guise. In 1588 the Parisians, under the influence of the League, drove Henry III. out of Paris. [45] **That**: Inserted for connection. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 285. *Bands for bonds*, see *Essay iii*, l. 1.

P. 48 [52] **Primum Mobile**: The highest starless sphere or heaven which was supposed to make its revolution in twenty-four

hours, and to communicate its motion to the lower heavens that contained the planets. Compare *Essay* xvii. l. 21 ; *Essay* li. l. 59. Milton, in much the same way, poises himself between the 'old opinion' of the *Prime Orb* (his term for *Primum Mobile*), and the new opinion of the 'voluble earth':—

Whether the *Prime Orb*,
Incredible how swift, had thither rolled
Diurnal, or this less volubil' earth,
By shorter flight to th' east, had left him there.

P. L. iv. 592.

Galileo also, in a letter to Kepler, dated 1597, says that he had adopted the new system several years before, *though he continued to teach the Ptolemaic system*. But this arose, not from Galileo's uncertainty, but from his fears. For Bacon's notions of Astronomy, see Introduction, p. xci. He does not give assent to the theory of *Primum Mobile*; but neither does he agree with 'the new carmen that drive the earth about.' This illustration is a favourite with Bacon. In his *Speech to the Judges before Circuit* he says: 'You that are the Judges of Circuits are, as it were, the planets in the kingdom. . . Do therefore as they do; move always and be carried with the motion of your *first mover*, which is your Sovereign.' [53] **Every**: 'ever-each,' cf. *Ant. and Cl.* i. 2, 38, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 12. [56] **Particular**: 1st (in the stars), the planetary motion as distinct from the motion communicated to planets by *Primum Mobile*; 2nd (among men), actions of self-aggrandisement. [56] **Tactus**: *Annals*, iii. 4, loosely quoted: 'Too freely to imply respect for government.' [60] **Threateneth**: Isaiah xlv. 1. The meaning is, 'who threatens this (as one of his severest judgments) in the words, *I will loose the girdles of kings*.' [65] **This part**, &c.: The appositional use of *of*; the meaning is, 'this part of the subject, I mean predictions.' [72] **Bear**, &c.: *Allow* it, i.e. the removal of abuses. [75] **Discontentment**: The name given (*Essay* ix. 143) to 'public envy.' [77] **Estates**: Here perhaps *fortunes*. The Latin has 'quot sunt hominum res attritæ.' The word *Estate* (or *State*) means in the *Essays*, 1st, a nation; 2nd, a rank or class in a nation; 3rd, the status, position, or property of an individual. [78] **Lucan**: *Pharsalia*, i. 181 ('rapidum' for 'avidum'): 'Hence came devouring usury and greedy interest

¹ Milton's spelling should here be retained, as a guide to the pronunciation.

at the dreaded settling-day, and credit was shaken, and crowds of debtors prayed for war.'

P. 49. [86] **The belly** : Lat. 'the rebellions that arise from the belly' i.e. from *hunger*, from the poverty of the better sort and the necessity in the mean people. *Belly* does not here seem to be used for a member of the body politic as it is used in *Coriolanus*, i. i. 152. [95] **Dolendi** : Pliny, *Letters*, viii. 17. 6 : 'For there's not much difference between suffering, and fearing one may suffer—except that indeed *there's a limit to pain, but no limit to fear.*' [97] **Mate** : Stupefy ; see Essay ii. l. 21. *Secure* means 'careless,' as in Essay v. l. 9. [106] **Causes**, &c. : These may be arranged under the four heads in l. 63. Under *Counsel* will come 'the advancement of unworthy persons,' and 'strangers' ; and under *Treasure*, 'dearths' and 'disbanded soldiers.' *Strangers* is a terse way of saying 'grievances arising out of the presence of strangers' in the country, as when (*Works*, vii. 653) 'the parliament, finding that they (i.e. strangers, tradesmen within this realm) did eat the Englishmen out of trade, and that they entertained no apprentices but of their own nation, did prohibit that they should receive any apprentice but the king's subjects.' Note that *religion*, here placed first, was the cause of disturbances under Henry VIII., of conspiracies under Elizabeth and James I., and of the outbreak in Scotland under Charles I. [113] **Just** : As in '*justus exercitus*,' 'a regular or complete army,' so here, *just* seems to mean *complete* or *exact*. Compare 'a just seven-night,' *Much Ado*, ii. i. 375. [117] **Material** : The Lat. is 'materialis ;' and 'materia' is the rendering for 'materials' in l. 70 and 'matter', in lines 73 and 75. Here, therefore, 'material cause' means 'that cause which is to the sedition what fuel (l. 73) or *material* is to flame.' This explanation is necessary because in modern English 'material' is often loosely used for 'important' ; it is not so used here.

P. 50 [120] **Estate** : Here State, see l. 77, above. In his *Speech for the Naturalisation of the Scotch*, *Life*, Vol. iii. p. 313, Bacon makes light of over-population. 'What is the worst effect that can follow of surcharge of people? Look into all stories, and you shall find it none other than some honourable war for the enlargement of their borders, which find themselves pent, upon foreign parts. . . must have leave to doubt, Mr. Speaker, that this realm of England is not yet peopled to the full.' [120] **Cherishing** : See Introduction, p. cxxvi. For example (*Works*, vii. 223),

'Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself or mixt with any other thrid . . . as ribbands, laces, cauls, prints, and girdles, &c., which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle, that where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.' [127] **Stock**: 'This word is rendered here 'proventus,' 'produce'; in l. 135 it is rendered 'sors,' 'capital.' [136] **Scholars**: Cf. *Life*, iv. 252, 'For Grammar Schools there are already too many. . . . For the great number of schools which are in your Highness' realm, doth cause a want and doth cause likewise an overflow, both of them inconvenient and one of them dangerous. For by means thereof they find want in the country and towns, both of servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade: and, on the other side, *there being more scholars bred than the State can prefer and employ*, . . . it must needs fall out that many persons will be bred unfit for other vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they are brought up; which fills the realm full of indigent, idle, and wanton people, which are but *materia rerum novarum* (i.e. fuel or material for revolutions).' [140] **Lost**: Bacon appears to think that foreign commerce results simply in a transfer of the precious metals—a process in which one party must lose. The possibility of gain on both sides is due to the unequal distribution of special natural facilities among the countries of the world. [150] **Mines**: 'They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oil, or scarce any corn growing in those United Provinces, little or no wood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wool, any stuff almost or metal: and yet Hungary, Transylvania, that boast of their mines, fertile England, cannot compare with them.' Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Democritus to the Reader, p. 77). (W.)

P. 51. [118] **Usury**: Elsewhere (*Essay* xli. l. 67) he says, 'To speak of the abolishing of Usury is idle.' But (*Works*, vi. p. 87), 'There were made good and politic laws, that Parliament, against Usury, which is the bastard use of money.' Latimer (*Remains*, ii. p. 42) says that 'all they that live of usury, they have their gains by the devil.' Shakespeare clearly (*Merchant of Venice*, i. 3. 135) counts it a mean thing 'to take a breed for barren metal,' and (*Lear*, iv. 6.) couples the 'usurer' with the 'cozener.' [158] **In-grossing**: Monopolising, *Essay* xxix. l. 105. Buying *in gross* to

sell at a profit. Cf. Spenser on Ireland (ed. Globe, p. 681), 'Neither should they buye corne to sell the same agayne, unless it were to make malte thereof; for by such *engrossing* and regrating we see the dearthe that nowe comonly raigneth heere in England to have been caused;' cf. (Clar. Press) *Areop.* p. 10. [156] **Pasturages**: See *Essay* xxix. l. 35. Complaints of the conversion of arable into pasture begin in the time of Henry VII., and find constant expression in the statutes of that and the following reign. See Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough*, 1549. The change was mainly due to the rapid development of the export trade in wool, on the production of which (corn not being wanted abroad) the increased quantity of silver now offered acted as a premium. The enclosures led to the eviction of the smaller copy-holders; and the contemporaneous dissolution of the monasteries added to the general distress. See a full account in Nasse's *Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*, Ouvry's translation. [160] **Discontent**: For *discontented*, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 342. [170] **Safe**: Does not mean *easy*, but 'tending to safety,' 'salutary.' [175] **Bravery**: Has its usual meaning of 'boastful defiance.' [179] **The part. &c.**: That is, 'The action of Afterthought might well be worthy to be adopted by Forethought.' [179] **Mought**: see *Essay* xxii. l. 31. [183] **Politic**: *Safe* (cf. *Leir*, i. 3. 346, 'politic and safe'), but with a notion of *artfulness*. See note on *Essay* xviii. l. 76. In the *De Augmentis*, vii. 2, ad. fin., he is more conventional: 'Men must pursue things which are good and just at present, leaving the future to the Divine Providence.' But in *Essay* vi. 113 he is consistent with the present passage.

P. 52. [192] **Particular persons**: *Single* as distinct from collective 'factions.' [193] **Brave**: 'Boastfully to predict that (which) they believe not.' See *Essay* x. l. 26. [202] **Particular**: Here a Noun, 'private interest.' Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, ii. 2. 9: 'As far as toucheth my *particular*.' [209] **Not one, &c.**: Yet he cautions us, in *Essay* li. l. 1, against the 'opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate according to the respect for factions, is a *principal part of policy*.' Livius Drusus set up by the Senate against Gracchus, and Wentworth detached from the Liberal party by Charles I., might be taken as instances of such policy. [215] **Cæsar**: A play on the word *dictate* from Suet. *Jul. Cæsar*, 77, loosely quoted: 'Sulla did not know his letters, and therefore could not *dictate*.' [219] **Galba**: Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 5, 'That he was in the habit of levying soldiers, not buying them.'

[221] **Probus**: *Flor. Vop. Prob.* 20 (W.), 'If I live, the Roman empire shall have no more need of soldiers.'

P. 53. [228] **Flat**: *Lat.* 'obtusi,' 'dull,' uninteresting. [236]

Tactus: *Hist.* i. 28, 'Such was the state of feeling, that this foul deed was ventured by a few, desired by more, tolerated by all.' [239]

Popular: 'Fawning on the people for selfish purposes.' '*A popular judge*,' says Bacon, 'is a deformed thing: and *plaudites* are fitter for players than for magistrates. Do good to the people, love them, and give them justice. But let it be, as the Psalm saith, *nihil inde expectantes*, looking for nothing, neither praise nor profit,' *Life*, vi. 211.

XVI

Of Atheism

The *Antitheta* on *Superstition*, some of which apply to the present Essay, are as follows:—

FOR.

1. Those that err through zeal should win our affection, though they cannot win our approval.
2. To morality we owe mediocrity; perfection we owe to religion.
3. Superstition is but religion in the bud (literally, 'religion elect,' like 'consul elect').
4. I would sooner believe in the most incredible wonders of any religion soever, rather than that all things around us are going on without a Will.

AGAINST.

1. As apes are the uglier for their likeness to men, so is superstition for its likeness to religion.
2. As one is bound to hate self-will in matters of state, so one should hate superstition in matters of religion.
3. Better have no opinion of God, than such an opinion as is an insult to Him.
4. It was not the Epicureans, but the Stoics, that troubled the commonwealth of old.

5. It is not within the possibilities of the human mind that a man should be a genuine and dogmatic atheist: but it is the great hypocrite that is your true atheist, the man that is always handling sacred things, and never reverencing them.

[Atheism is worse than any credulity. It may be justified by shallow philosophy, but is refuted by deep philosophy, especially by the school of Epicurus, 20. No Atheist is sincere, 21-37. Epicurus himself did not deny the *existence* of Blessed Natures; and in this the very savages side with the subtlest philosophers, 37-55. The number of Atheists is small and exaggerated, 55-62. The causes of Atheism are schisms and scandal of priests, 63-73. Atheism destroys the raising of human nature alike in individuals and in nations, 74-99.]

. P. 54. [1] **Believe**: This seems, at first, inconsistent with the opening of *Essay* xvii.: 'It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him.' But Bacon appears to distinguish between the negative state of 'having no opinion of God,' and the positive state of believing 'that this universal frame is without a Mind.' See Introduction, p. xl. [1] **Legend, &c.**: The *Golden Legend*, a collection of Lives of Saints, and other stories, written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, in the thirteenth century. The *Alcoran* (more properly *Al Koran*, the *Koran*) was said to have been dictated to Mohammed by Gabriel. It is regarded by the Mohammedans as the standing miracle of their religion. Mohammed himself professed to work no miracles; but it is not at all likely that Bacon knew much of the contents either of the Koran or of the Talmud. He uses them graphically for the phrase 'any religion soever,' used in the *Antitheta* above. For an account of the Talmud, the traditional laws of the Jews, see the *Literary Remains* of Emanuel Deutsch. [4] **Convince**: To refute, overcome. *Macbeth*, i. 7. 64. [7] **About**: 'Round'; compare 'his horses go about.' *Macbeth*, iii. 3. 11. [10] **Chain**: Bacon's argument is, that the discovery of twenty or thirty links in a chain, where we had previously supposed there were but two or three links, cannot reasonably destroy pre-existing belief in a Maker of that chain. Bacon means by *second causes* 'efficient causes.' For example, the lightning parting

the air is the *efficient* or *second cause* of the thunder, of which God is the First Cause. This is illustrated by *Works*, iii. 267, 'Certain it is that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes. . . But farther, it is an *assured* truth and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the Poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.' [14] **Leucippus**, &c.: The founder of the atomic theory, which was worked out by Democritus; Democritus was born in B.C. 460; Epicurus B.C. 342. [16] **Fifth Essence**: This was the *quintessence*, or fifth, immutable, heavenly essence (assumed by Aristotle) of which the heavenly bodies were composed. Milton (*P. L.* vii. 244) speaks of it as 'light, ethereal; first of things, *quintessence* pure.' Cf. also *Arcop.* (Clar. Press) p. 6. [18] **Unplaced**: i.e. 'Not set in their *proper* places.' The Latin has '*sine ordine fortuito vagantium*,' i.e. 'wandering without order and at hazard.'

P. 55. [23] **As**, &c.: 'So that he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that *which* he would wish to have.' [23] **By Rote**: i.e. As an actor, repeating what is not the expression of one's thoughts. But this seems contrary to modern experience, which is rather that some persons would wish to be persuaded of the existence of a God, but cannot thoroughly believe it. Such persons are rather non-theists (if such a word may be used) than atheists. Bacon is probably right in saying (l. 55) that the contemplative atheist (as distinct from non-theist) is rare—possibly has no existence. The objection to the genuineness of Atheism, on the ground of its proselytising, seems unsound. People may take a sincere pleasure in the propagation of what they believe to be Truth, though the Truth be the negation of a God. All through this Essay Bacon is thinking of God intellectually rather than morally; as a Mind (l. 3), rather than as a Father; and he ignores the real source of belief in God, which is the sanguine faculty of believing that Goodness is Power. See also *Works*, vii. 251, 252. [36] **Why**, &c.: I suppose an

Atheist might answer, because he preferred to die rather than to live with the consciousness that he was injuring men by suppressing or denying truth. [43] **Non**, &c. : 'It is not denying the existence of the gods of the people, it is the application of the opinions of the people to the gods, that makes real profanity.' Diog. Laertius, x. 123. (W.) [47] **Nature** : Note the importance attached by Bacon to the recognition of a god or gods, even though they be such as 'enjoy themselves without having respect to the government of the world.' To a Christian such a god would seem worse than none at all ; but to Bacon Theism is an intellectual as much as, or more than, a moral necessity. See Introduction, p. lxiv. For the Epicurean or Lucretian idea of the 'secure,' i.e. careless life of the gods, compare the conclusion of Tennyson's 'Lotus-eaters.' [48] **Names** : It is said that some tribes of savages have been discovered, among whom there are no names of gods, particular or general. Sir John Lubbock gives many instances of the inability of savages to form abstract ideas, and of their poverty in words representing abstract ideas. For *West Indies* Mr. Wright refers to Acosta, *Hist. Nat. des Indes*, v. fol. 212 b (Fr. trans. Ed. 1600) : 'Ils n'avoient point neant moins de nom propre, pour nommer Dieu . . . l'on n'en trouvera aucun en langue de Cusco ny en langue de Mexique.' [54] **Savages** : Cf. *Euphuus* (Arber's reprint, p. 162), 'there is no nation so barbarous, no kinde of people so savage, in whom resteth not this persuasion that there is a God.' [55] **Contemplative** : This perhaps means *theoretic* and *philosophic*, and is intended to be distinguished from *practical* atheists, men that deny God by their actions, though they confess Him with their lips.

P. 56 [56] **Bion**, &c. : Bion (who is to be distinguished from the poet of that name) died about B.C. 241, and is best known for his caustic wit. The asserted atheism of Diagoras of Melos is said to be unsupported by his writings : he is said to have flourished in 468 B.C. : his atheism was at least so far believed in, that Aristophanes could call Socrates 'the Melian,' with the certainty of being understood. Lucian died about 200 A.D. : he 'impugned the received religion,' and also such distorted forms of Christianity as had been presented to him, with great wit and force. [64] **One**, &c. : The division between the High Churchmen and the Puritans in Bacon's time might seem to have added zeal to both sides ; but perhaps it was in part cause of the reaction into immorality under Charles II, [67] **St. Bernard** : Abbot of Clairvaux, born 1091

A.D. : 'One can no longer say "the priest is as bad as the people," for the people are not so bad as the priests.' *Scandal of priests*, means scandals or stumbling-blocks caused by the vicious lives of priests. [72] **Troubles** : Yet Thucydides gives a different impression in his history of the plague ; and the accounts of shipwrecks would lead one to believe that extremity of trouble *either* 'bows men's minds to religion,' and exalts them to noble self-sacrifice, as in the wreck of the 'Birkenhead,' or drives every thought of religion out of their minds. [76] **Base** : Compare *Essay* xiii. l. 7, 'Without it' (i.e. goodness, which is the character of the Deity) 'man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin.'

P. 57. [92] **Cicero**. *De Haruspicum Responsis*, ix. : 'Rare ourselves as highly as we may, Conscript Fathers, yet we cannot match the Spaniards in numbers, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in craft, the Greeks in art, nor our own Italians and Latins in the home-bred and native patriotism-characteristic of this land and nation. But our piety, our religion, and our recognition of the one great truth of the Divine government of all mortal things—these are the points wherein all the tribes and nations of the world have been surpassed by us.'

XVII

Of Superstition

For the *Antitheta*, see notes on *Essay* xvi.

[Superstition is more in-pious than Atheism ; for the latter neglects, the former insults God. Superstition is more criminal than Atheism, for the latter does not deprive men of social and political morality ; but the former dethrones morality and supplants government, 1-22. Superstition is begun by fools, and then justified by the special pleading of the learned, 23-33 ; it is caused by self-will in different forms, and by barbarous times, 34-43 ; it is the more deformed for the beauty of Religion, which it apes, 44-49 ; yet there is a superstition most common with the vulgar in avoiding superstition, 50-55.]

P. 58 [1] **No opinion** : Apparently Bacon thinks a man may have 'no opinion of God,' and yet believe that 'this universal frame is not without a Mind.' See *Essay* xvi. l. 1. But by the words 'no opinion' he probably does not exclude such broad conceptions

of God as are presupposed by the word 'Mind.' He appears to distinguish between the state of believing that there is no God, and the state of believing that one knows nothing definite about Him. The former kind of **Atheism** he declares (*Essay* xv. l. 28) to be non-existent among mankind; the latter he declares to be preferable to superstition. The Latin is rather less forcible, '*Præstat nullam aut incertam de Deo habere opinionem*,' 'it is better to have *no opinion*, or *only an uncertain opinion*.' And in his letter, A.D. 1607, to his intimate friend, Toby Matthew, who had been converted to Romanism, he uses the words '*good opinion*:' 'well justifying the censure of the heathen that *Superstition is far worse than Atheism*, by how much it is less evil to have *no good opinion* of God at all than such as are impious towards his Divine Majesty and Goodness.' *Life*, Vol. iv. p. 10. For the close connection in Bacon's mind between Romanism and Superstition, see Introduction p. cxii. cxiii. [4] **Plutarch**: *De Superstitione*, x. (W.) The story is, that Saturn, or rather Kronos, devoured all his children, till Zeus was saved from him by the substitution of a stone. [12] **Piety**: Seems to be used in its Latin use of 'natural affection.' The Lat. translation has '*naturales affectus*.' [16] **Perturb**: See *Anti-theta*, *Essay* xvii., *Against*, 4. [17] **As**, &c.: i.e. because they look no further than their own interests, and have nothing to hope. [19] **Civil**: Free from war, Lat. '*tranquilla*.' [21] **Primum mobile**, &c.: See *Essay* xv. l. 52, note, p. 139. '*Ravisheth*' (Lat. '*rapit*'), i.e. 'hurries away the stars by communicating to them its own rapid motion.'

P. 59. [25] **Reversed**: i.e. preposterous; Lat. '*ordine perverso*.' [25] **Gravely**: Authoritatively. [27] **Schoolmen**: The name given to the philosophers who taught in the schools from the ninth century (beginning with John Scotus Erigena) to the fourteenth century. Their general object was, in the words of Hallam, 'an endeavour to arrange the orthodox system of the church, such as authority had made it, according to the rules and methods of the Aristotelian dialectics, and sometimes upon premises supplied by metaphysical reasoning.' The more eminent schoolmen all belonged to one or other of the rival Mendicant orders, Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas being Dominicans, and Bonaventura and Duns Scotus, Franciscans. The great line of schoolmen ended with the Englishman, William of Ockham (the '*Invincible Doctor*,' d. 1347), with whom the modern distinction be-

tween reason and faith properly begins: he denies that either the existence of God or the articles of faith are strictly demonstrable. The usual scholastic conception of the limit of theological speculation is expressed in the maxim of Duns Scotus: 'nec fides excludit omnem dubitationem, sed dubitationem vincentem.' [29] **Eccentrics**, &c.: According to the Ptolemaic system, the planets were supposed to move in (1) circles whose centres themselves moved in (2) circles. The former circles were called 'on-circles,' or *epicycles*; the latter, having their *centre* at a little distance *from* the earth, were called *eccentric* ('from-centre'). In *Works*, v. 517, Bacon blames Copernicus himself for 'making the moon revolve about the earth in an epicycle, and some other assumptions of his,' which, he adds, 'are the speculations of one who cares not what fictions he introduces into nature, provided his calculations answer.' *Engines of orbs* (Lat. 'machinas,' 'machines'), i.e. devices, fictitious orbits to 'save the phenomena.' [30] **Save**, &c.: Professor J. E. B. Mayor (Memoranda of the Cambridge Philological Society, 1874-5) remarks on the phrase *to save appearances*, 'In a more exact sense ("to keep the phenomena while you change the hypothesis which explains them") the phrase is two thousand years old, being cited by Plutarch (ii. 923 a) from Cleanthes, who "thought that the Greeks ought to impeach the Samian Aristarchus for impiety, as shifting the hearth of the world (i.e. the earth supposed to be the centre of the universe), because he endeavoured to keep the phenomena (τὰ φαινόμενα σώζειν; à sauver les apparences—AMYOT), supposing that the heaven remains fixed, but the earth revolves in a slanting circle, turning at the same time about its own axis.'" This passage seems to have suggested to the wits a comparison of the arbitrary hypotheses of theologians with the eccentrics and epicycles devised by the old astronomers 'per salvare le apparenze,' in ignorance of the true causes of the celestial motions (Sarpi, *Hist. del Conc. Trid.*, Lond. 1619, p. 222). Cf. Milton, *P. L.* viii. 82, 83—

The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances, how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.

[34] **Causes**, &c.: In the following list Bacon seems to be censuring the excesses both of the High Church party and of the Puritans. See Introduction, p. cv. [38] **Lucres**: Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 113, 'Blind mouths, &c.' [39] **Good Intention**: Seems to be

almost technically used by Bacon in connection with ecclesiastical matters. See *Essay* iii. l. 71. [40] **Conceits and novelties**: The Greek for 'conceits' is *ethelothreskeia*, which is the word used in the *Epistle to the Colossians*, ii. 23, and translated in our version 'will-worship.' [41] **Mixture**, &c.: For Bacon's protest against mixing Religion and Science, see Introduction, p. c. [45] **Ape**: See *Antitheta* of *Essay* xvi. [50] **Avoiding**: See Introduction, p. cxi. [52] **Would**: '*Requires to be had*,' nearly equivalent to *should*. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 329.

XVIII

Of Travel

- Some letters of *Advice to the Earl of Rutland on his travels*, purporting to be written by Essex, but assigned by Mr. Spedding to Bacon (*Life*, Vol. ii. pp. 7-20) on strong internal evidence, contain many passages illustrating this Essay. The whole of the Essay assumes that travelling is to be regarded, not as an amusement, but as a part of the education of young noblemen and gentlemen.

[If travelling is to be really travelling, and not going to a grammar school, a young man should travel with some tutor who knows the language and customs of the country, 1-11. He should keep a diary, and should see everything worth seeing, from royal courts down to processions and executions, 18-37. If he has to do much in little time, he must also have a map or guide-book; move from place to place, shun countrymen; seek useful acquaintances; and visit eminent persons, 37-65. Quarrels must be avoided. When he has returned home, he should correspond with his foreign friends; but his travels should appear in his knowledge rather than in his conversation and manners, 65-80.]

P. 60. [4] **School**: The Lat. has '*ludum grammaticum*,' 'a grammar school,' i.e. to learn the language. [5] **Allow**: I approve, derived from Lat. '*aliaudo*,' 'I praise.' 'A consonant between two vowels is often summarily dispensed with (in French), whence the Latin words *laudare*, "to praise," and *locare*, "to let," have both produced the French form *louer* as a result.' Skeat, *Specimens of English Literature*, p. xxv. [11] **Hooded**: Like falcons, *Hen. V.* iii. 7. 121. For another metaphor from falconry, see *Essay* xxxvi. l. 27. [14] **Diaries**: Compare *Life*, vol. ii. p.

20: 'If your Lordship tell me that these things will be too many to remember, I answer I had rather you trusted your note-book than your memory.'

P. 61. [28] **Exchanges**: Lat. 'locis excambii,' 'places of exchange.' I do not know the precise difference between *exchanges* and *burses*, unless the former had rather the meaning of *place* and the latter of *building*. Nares quotes Baker as follows: 'Robert, Earl of Salisbury, now lord treasurer of England, caused to be built a stately building, which was richly furnished with wares. . . and the king gave it the name of Britain's *burse*.'¹ For *triumphs, masks*, see *Essay* xxxvii. [43] **Card**: Chart; cf. 'cards and maps,' *Essay* xxix. l. 39. [49] **Adamant**: Load-stone. The Greek original meant unconquerable, hence **hard**; but (perhaps from its similarity to the Latin *adamans*, loving, Fr. *aimant*) it was applied to the stone that *loved* and attracted steel. The word is used in its double sense of *hard* and *attractive* in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 195. 'You draw me, you hard-hearted *adamant*.' [51] **Countrymen**: Compare *Life*, vol. ii. p. 17: 'Restrain your affection and participation from your own countrymen, of whatsoever condition.'

P. 62. [60] **Employed men**: The Lat. has 'ministrorum interiorum,' i.e. 'inner' or *private* servants or secretaries. [74] **Apparel**, &c.: 'In manners or behaviour, your Lordship must not be caught with novelty, which is pleasing to young men; nor infected with custom, which makes us keep our own ill graces, and participate of those we see every day; nor given to affection (a general fault of most of our English travellers), which is both displeasing and ridiculous.' Compare Portia's description of the 'young baron of England': 'How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.' *Merchant of Venice*, i. 2. 79. See also *Euphues* (Arber's reprint, p. 118), 'Be not lyke the Englishman, which preferreth every straunge fashion before the vse of his countrey.' And Harrison (quoted by Taine, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* i. 148) says, 'Such is our mutabilitie that to-daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toies are most fine, delectable, yer long no such apparell as

¹ But on the other hand, Elizabeth, opening Gresham's *Burse* in 1570, 'caused the same *Burse*, by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, so to be called from henceforth, and not otherwise.' Holinshead, quoted by Knight, *Pict. Hist.* ii. 788.

nat which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the barbarian sleeves. . . ' [75] **Advised**: Well-informed; thought-ful; cf. 'the silver livery of *advised* age' 2 *Hen. VI.* v. 2. 47. 78] **Prick in**: Plant; cf. *Essay* xlv. l. 188.

XIX

Of Empire

For the *Antitheta*, see *Essay* xi. p. 129.

[Kings have few hopes and many fears. Hence, some are driven to make frivolous hopes for themselves; others, having nothing to hope, fall into melancholy and superstition, 1-31. The true temper of empire consists, not in alternating, but in blending, 32-43; not in make-shifts, but in fore-thought and the dispassionate choice of means, 44-57. Neighbouring kings are to be watched lest they become too powerful, 63-86. Wives must be feared when they are unfaithful or ambitious for their children; sons should rarely be suspected, 87-118. Prelates cause no fear unless they depend on foreign or popular support; the great nobles are too useful to be depressed, and the second nobles are still less dangerous, 119-146. To tax merchants is to drain the veins of the country; the Commons are not dangerous when not misled nor meddled with; standing armies and donatives are dangerous; a king should bridle his will by remembering that he is in the place of God, and his power by remembering that he is a man, 147-170.]

P. 63. [5] **Representations**: Seems here used for *appearances*, *shows*. The Latin has 'phantasmata.' [7] **Scripture**: *Proverbs* xxv. 3. [13] **Building**, &c.: The Latin has 'buildings,' and (instead of 'order') 'order or college.'

P. 64. [27] **Alexander**: Plutarch, *Lives*, p. 559: 'Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened to him but he took it straight for a sign and prediction from the gods; so that his tent was always full of priests and soothsayers.' [28] **Diocletian**: Abdicated in 305 A.D. Gibbon differs from Bacon: 'Reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied his retreat in which he enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the possession of the world. . . . His answer to Maximian is deservedly celebrated.

He was solicited by that restless old man to reassume the reins of government and the imperial purple. He rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing, that if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer be urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power.' [28] **Charles V.**: Abdicated in 1556 A.D. His mind became enfeebled by ill-health, and he gave himself up, during the last few months of his life, to ascetic austerities. He had his own funeral obsequies performed in his presence, in August 1558 A.D., and died in the September following [32] **Temper**, &c: *Temper* is mingling contraries into one whole; *distemper* is *interchanging* or *alternating* (Lat. 'alternare') contraries without mingling them. [36] **Apol-lonius**: (Of Tyana), who lived in the 1st century after Christ. His life, which abounds in miracles and fables, was written by Philostratus in the reign of Septimius Severus. [39] **Harp**: Alluding to Nero's pretensions to musical skill. [45] **Deliveries**: Here used for *deliverances*, Lat. 'remedia.' Bacon had a high opinion of the political as well as the military wisdom of former times as compared with *latter times*. See Introduction, p. lxxiii., for the 'lost wisdom' of policy. See also *Essay* xxix. II. 297-315. [48] **Masteries**: 'To try who shall be *master*, i.e. who is the stronger, oneself or fortune.' [54] **Tacitus**: 'The desires of kings are mostly vehement and incompatible with one another.' Sallust (not Tacitus), *Jugurthine War*, ch. 113, loosely quoted.

P. 65. [56] **Power**: 'It is the characteristic absurdity and mistake of despotic power to,' &c. The Lat. has 'nimiae potentiae,' 'too great power.' Cicero uses the word *solecism* in a similar way. 'It is a *solecism*,' he says, 'to laud tyrant-slayers to the skies, and yet to retain the acts of tyrants.' The word originally meant an absurd linguistic mistake; hence an absurd mistake of any kind. The old derivation connected it with the supposed provincialism of some Greek colonists at Soli in Cilicia. Aristotle uses it of bad taste. [60] **Second nobles**: So in *Life*, vi. 112, the gentry are distinguished from the peers, and called 'second nobles.' [67] **Embracing**: Lat. 'attrahendo,' *drawing to themselves*. [68] **Approaches**: (since it is distinguished from 'increase of territory') would appear to mean 'approaching the frontier with an army,' or 'fortifying towns on the frontier.' [77] **Interest**: i.e. 'Borrow immediate peace at the cost of great ultimate loss.' This

passage is found nearly word for word in *Life*, vol. vii. 477. *Considerations touching a war with Spain*, 1624 A.D. [78] **League**: In 1480 A.D. [82] **Schoolmen**: See *Essay* xvii. 27. [88] **Husband**: Augustus. The accusation is mentioned by Dio Cassius, lvi. 30 (W.) [89] **Solyman**: the Magnificent; reigned 1520 A.D. to 1566 A.D. His eldest son, Mustapha, was put to death at instigation of the prince's stepmother Roxalana, who wished to secure the succession for one of her sons. Another son, Bayezid, rebelled, and was executed by Soliman, who was succeeded by Selim II., mentioned l. 104, below.

* P. 66. [92] **His**: for 's'; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 217; that added for connection, *ib.* Par. 285. [96] **Advoutrresses**: *Adulteresses*. Advowtry and Avowtry (old Fr. *avoutrie*) are quoted by Nares from old plays. The *d* appears to have been a recent introduction, going back to the Latin form, *adulterium*; so that *advowtry* blends the French form without *d*, and the Latin form with *d*. * *Adultère est une formation récente, faite sur le modèle d'adulterium, et comme s'il y avait un mot Latin adulterius.* Littré. 'Vieux Roman, *aoultre, avoultre, aoutre*; vieux Français *avoutierge, avoutire*. Anglais *advoutry*,' *Dict. d'Etym.*, A. Scheller. [105] **Crispus**: Executed in 326 A.D. See Gibbon, ch. xviii. [111] **Demetrius**: Falsely accused by his brother Perseus, and executed by his father, B.C. 179. Liv. xl. 24. [116] **Solyman**: Soliman. See above, l. 89. [121] **Anselmus**: See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 439. Becket, *ib.* iii. p. 488. [125] **State**: Rank, order; i.e. 'the clergy.' See *Essay* xv. l. 77. The word *states* seems curiously used for 'noblemen' in *Euphues* (Arb. reprint, p. 185): 'She, being in great credit with the *states*, died in great beggerie in the streets. Certes, it is an old saying that whoso liveth in the *court* shall dyë in the strawe.' [125] **But**: *Except*, Lat. '*nisi ubi*.' The meaning is, 'The (usual) danger need not be apprehended from the clerical order except where it depends on foreign authority, e.g. a pope.' The Latin is '*pendet ab auctoritate Principatus externi*.' Bacon was perhaps thinking of the troubles caused by this state of things in England, which led to the passing of the statutes *De Asportatis Religiosorum* (1306) and *Provisors* (1350), the evasion of which was met by the stringent statute of *Præmunire* (1392); and the complete independence of the Church from foreign control was at last secured by the legislation of the Reformation Parliament (1529-36).

P. 67. [136] **Troubles**: *Works*, vol. vi. 242: 'He (Henry VII.) kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety.' This was the policy of all the Tudors. In 1536 the Yorkshire rebels complained that the Council was filled with 'scant well-born gentlemen.' In 1553, out of forty members, twenty-two were commoners. See Dicey's *Arnold Essay on the Privy Council*. See also *Essay* xiv. ll. 49-52. [143] **Counterpoise**: This is true of England, but not of all countries. [147] **Vena Porta**: Mr. Ellis writes: 'The metaphôr is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins that converge to the *Vena Porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver. Bacon's meaning therefore is, that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their re-distribution.' Elsewhere Bacon uses the English term 'Gate-Vein.' [149] **Nourish**: Here used intransitively, 'to gain flesh'; Lat. 'empty veins and a *lean habit of body*.' [156] **Religion**: See *Essay* xv. 107; also introduction, p. cxxviii. [160] **Janizaries**: A corruption of a Turkish phrase meaning 'new troops'; a corps established in 1326, and supplied chiefly by young Christian captives. After a mutiny in 1826, those that were not killed were disbanded. The *prætorian* cohorts, which received double pay, were instituted by Augustus, and finally abolished by Constantine. In 193 A.D. they murdered Pertinax, and sold the empire by auction to Didius Julianus.

P. 68. [162] **Severai**: i.e. *Separate*; for fear of rebellious combinations. *Severai* is rarely used by Elizabethan writers (as it is often loosely used by us) simply for 'many.' The old use is still retained in the legal phrase 'joint and *several*.' [168] **Two**, &c.: 'Remember that you are a man,' and 'Remember that you are a god,' or 'God's vicegerent.'

XX

Of Counsel

The Edition of 1612 omits ll. 28, 29; 71-82, 'It is true—Fox'; ll. 131-165.

[No one is more trusted than a counsellor. He is necessary even to the highest, 1-10. The 'agitation' of discussion is better than such 'agitation' of adversity as befel Rehoboam, who took counsel of youth and violence, 10-23. As Jupiter devoured Metis and gave birth to Pallas; so kings should appropriate and give effect to the resolutions conceived in their council, 24-49. 'Cabinet' councils have been proposed as substitutes for state councils; the latter being disliked—(1) for their publicity; (2) for the weakening of royal authority; (3) for the danger of unfaithful counsel, 50-61. But (1) kings need not publish everything to their council (a 'cabinet' is proverbially leaky), and a wise king may well confine some secrets to two or three wise and trusty counsellors, 62-82. (2) The weakening of authority will be prevented by the king's appropriating the council's offspring; (3) unfaithful counsel must be averted by wise choice of counsellors, 82-102. Counsellors must advise, not flatter. They should be consulted separately and together, upon persons as well as things. Books are counsellors that cannot flatter, 103-130. There should be notice of *agenda*; set days for petitions; committees composed of impartial individuals rather than of two evenly balanced sides; standing commissions for departments, 131-150. Evidence must inform, not dictate, 150-156. The form of the council-room is not unimportant, 156-161. If a king speaks, counsellors turn flatterers, 161-165.]

P. 69. [2] **In other**: i.e. Stewards, tutors, agents. But the argument seems rather strained. A man *may* commit 'the whole of his life' to a counsellor whom he implicitly follows; but such an absolute and complete trust is not implied in the word 'counsellor.' [3] **Child**: So Ed. 1612 A.D. and 1625 A.D.; but probably a mistake for 'children': Lat. 'liberos.' [6] **Obliged**: Used here in Latin sense, *bound*. [13] **Agitation**: There is a play upon this word. In Latin *agitare* means to 'discuss' as well as to 'toss.' [15] **Doing and undoing**: These Participles are here used quasi-passively, as in 'the house is (a-) *building*.' This is shown by the Latin, 'modo texendæ modo retexendæ.'

P. 70. [22] **For**: As regards; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 149. [36] **Secret**: This is of a piece with Bacon's interpretation of ancient myths. See his *Wisdom of the Ancients*. But it is now believed that 'the extraordinary birth of *Athênê* . . . seems no

more than the Greek rendering of the Sanskrit phrase 'that Ushas, the Dawn, sprang from the head of Dyū, the Mūrdhā durāh, the East, the forehead of the sky.' Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 551. [55] **Of themselves**: If 'he is of himself' could mean 'he depends on himself,' this might be thought to be literally translated by the Latin 'minus ex se penderent.' But as it is doubtful whether there is any authority for this, it seems more probable that the meaning is, 'as if they were less, i.e. weaker, of (by) themselves.'

P. 71. [60] **Cabinet Councils**: Not what we mean by 'Cabinet Councils,' but rather 'unofficial, secret councils.' This is shown by the following insertion after 'disease' in a MS. written a little earlier than 1612—'which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress; that is, counsels of state to which princes are married, to counsels of favoured persons recommended chiefly by flattery and affection.' This, if published, might have seemed an allusion to Buckingham. The words 'in some kings' times' were added in 1625. The word is derived from *cabin* in the sense of 'small room,' and hence has a notion of secrecy and selectness. Cf. '*cabined*, cribbed, confined,' *Macbeth*, iii. 4. 24. In *Lucrece*, 442, the 'heart' is called 'the quiet *cabinet*.' [69] **Futile**: Here used in its Latin sense of 'leaky'; 'Plenus rimarum sum' means 'I am full of leak-holes.' [72] **Which will**: The Latin translation shows that *which* refers to secrecy. The keeping of the secret will with difficulty extend beyond a small number. [75] **Constantly**: means 'consistently, 'steadily.' [77] **Hand-mill**: 'To grind with a hand-mill' seems to mean 'to be able to do one's own business for oneself.' The Lat. has '*proprio Marte validus*,' i.e. 'able to fight his own battles.' [81] **Morton and Fox**: Compare *Works*, vol. vi. 207. 'This year also died John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England and Cardinal. He was a wise man and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty, much accepted by the King, but envied by the nobility and hated of the people. He wanne the King with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes.' Both Morton and Fox are described (*Works*, vi. 40) as 'vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else.' Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, served the Earl of Richmond before he became Henry VII. He was made Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Secretary of State. Wol-

ey, whom he introduced to Henry VIII., supplanted him in the king's favour, and he retired in 1515 to his diocese, where he died in 1528. [83] **The fable** : mentioned above, ll. 31-35. The King's to appropriate the offspring of the deliberations of his Council. 90] **Holpen** : see *Essay* xxiv. l. 32; also *Sh. Gr.* Par. 343.

P. 72. [93] **Times** : The nature of special times. Bacon applies it in *Essay* i. l. 81, to the *times* before what is called the Second Advent. [103] **Principis** : 'It is a ruler's greatest excellence to know his subjects.' Martial, *Epigrams*, viii. 15. [105] **Speculative**, &c. : '*Prying* into their sovereign's character.' To *speculate* originally meant 'to watch or pry'; and *person* meant 'character.' Cf. *Lear*, iii. i. 26, 'spies and speculations.' The Queen (if one may judge from an obscure passage, *Life*, i. 356), imputed *speculation* to Bacon; but she may have used the word in the modern sense, as in *Euphues* (Arber, p. 142), where it refers to 'continuall meditation and studie.' [122] **Secundum**, &c. : i.e. 'Generally, as in dealing with abstract ideas, or as in a mathematical diagram,' where, for example, an isosceles triangle stands for the whole class of triangles of that kind.

P. 73. [127] **Optimi** : 'The best counsellors are the dead.' [128] **Blanch** : Lit. 'whiten'; hence 'report too favourably,' 'flatter.' The Lat. has 'in adulationem lapsuri sint.' So *Life*, vol. iv. 272, 'It is an offence horrible and odious, and cannot be *blanched* nor made fair.' See also *Essay* xxvi. 30, and Latimer (*Sermon on the Plough*, vi.) on *blanchers*, i.e. those who *blanched* the superstitions of the unreformed church. [136] **In nocte**, &c. : 'There's counsel in a night,' i.e. 'the interval of a night seasons and matures counsel.' [138] **Assembly** : Mr. Spedding says (*Life*, vol. iii. p. 240), 'A council of forty-eight Englishmen and thirty-one Scotchmen, meeting on terms of equality to make a bargain—a bargain involving interests so vast and so various—might have seemed to have no easy task before them; yet in less than six weeks they had come to an agreement all but unanimous; and the work, so far as it depended upon them, was prosperously concluded.' It was 'agreed by a full consent that every time of assembly, after the matters concluded at that sitting, there shall be propositions made of such particular questions and matters as shall be debated at the next sitting.' *Ib.* p. 241. [141] **Hec agere** : 'Keep to the business in hand.' [143] **Indifferent** : *Impartial*; so *Essay* vi. l. 68. [147] **Particular** : The Latin inserts 'subordinata,' 'subordinate.'

Where, as in Spain, there are divers subordinate councils, and, only one superior (Lat. *superius*) council, the former are almost the same as standing councils, such as we have been describing.' [155]

Tribunitions : i.e. As being tribunes, specially entitled to represent the poorer classes ; cf. *Coriolanus*, i. 1. 219.

P. 74. [164] **Wind** : 'To have the wind of a person' is 'to have the safe side or advantage of him.' See *Titus Andronicus*, iv. 3. 133 ; *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 362. But here *wind* seems rather 'the breath of opinion,' and 'to take the wind of a person' means 'to borrow one's thoughts from him,' i.e. conform oneself to him. So the Latin, 'se ad nutum ejus applicabunt.' [165] **Placebo** : Properly the vesper hymn for the dead, so called from beginning with the words, '*Placebo domino in regione vivorum*' (Psalm cxvi. 9) ; but used (with a jesting reference to the meaning of '*placebo*,' 'I will please') of any kind of flattery. Chaucer (W.), *Persones Tale*, has 'Flatterers ben the develes chapelynes that singen ay *placebo*.'

XXI

Of Delays

The *Antitheta* are :—

FOR.

1. Fortune often sells to haste what she gives without price to delay.
2. While we hasten to grasp the beginnings of things, we clutch at shadows.
3. While things are wavering, watch ; when they turn, act.
4. In actions the beginnings should be intrusted to Argus of the hundred eyes, the ends to Briareus of the hundred hands.

AGAINST.

1. Opportunity gives you first the jug's handle, but afterwards the belly.
2. Opportunity, like the Sibyl, lowers her offers and raises her prices.
3. Speed is the Helmet of Pluto, (i.e. the Invisible Cap.)
4. When one acts betimes, one can act like a judge ; but when one is late in action, one must act like a courtier.

This Essay contains also some of the *Antitheta* on Checking Mischief in time :—

FOR.

1. Dangers more often beguile than overpower.

2. It is less troublesome to front and stop a danger, than to note and guard against its growth.

3. Let a danger seem slight, and it is slight no longer.

AGAINST.

1. One teaches danger to advance by always being on the alert for it; and one makes to oneself¹ imaginary perils by one's useless safeguards.

2. Even in safeguards against perils there lurks some touch of peril.

3. Better have to do with a few perils of long standing, than with the vain threats of every passing peril.

[Delays sometime ripen, but sometime withdraw opportunity, 1-11. Danger more often deceives than compels. Rather than wait for danger too long, men should meet it, but not too soon; always having regard to ripeness of occasion. First watch, and then speed; for speed is secrecy, 11-31.]

P. 75. [3] *Sibylla*: The story is that the Sibylline books were offered to Tarquinius Priscus by an old woman, who, when her first price was refused, burnt half the books and doubled her price, repeating the process till her offer was accepted. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* i. 19. For the thought, cf. *Julius Cæsar*, iv. 3. 218, where Brutus, however, against the judgment of Cassius, seizes an 'unripe occasion.' [5] *Still*, &c.: 'Always, each time, increases the price.' For the construction in l. 7, 'and no hold taken,' see *Sk. Grammar*, Par. 95. It seems to be 'and this too, no hold being taken.' The Lat. is 'non arripientibus.' [6] *Verse*: The reference may be to Phædrus, v. 8. 2:—

'Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo corpore.'

or, more probably, to *Adagia*, p. 687, Ed. Grynæus (W.)—

'Fronte capillata est, post hæc occasio calva.'

[10] *Beginnings*: Not of dangers but of meeting dangers, and generally of actions, as in *Julius Cæsar*, iv. 3. 218. That this

¹ Read 'angit' for 'figit.'

is the right interpretation appears from the Latin, 'in choosing the seasonable auspices and beginnings of things.'

P. 76. [24] **Argus**: appointed by Hera to 'watch Io. When he was slain by Hermes, Hera is said to have transferred his eyes to her favourite bird, the peacock. [25] **Briareus**: see *Essay* xv. l. 169. [26] **Helmet**: In the *Iliad*, v. 845, Athene puts 'on the helmet of Hades lest mighty Arcs should see her.' See also *Works*, iv. 330, 'Perseus received speed from Mercury, secrecy of counsels from Orcus, and foresight from Pallas. . . Next to speed in war, secrecy of counsels is of the greatest moment; of which, indeed, speed itself is a great part; for speed anticipates the disclosures of counsels.' The myths of the Invisible *Cap* are said to have been originated by the phenomena of a cloud. Cf. *Essay* xx. l. 36.

XXII

Of Cunning

See Introduction, p. cxlvi.

The Edition of 1612 omits ll. 16-120, 'and because—certainly.'

[Cunning differs greatly from wisdom in ability, and is fitter for tricks than for business, 1-18. Points of cunning are—(1) to study features; (2) to divert from objections, or to leave no time for them; (3) to conciliate by appearance, of yielding; (4) to create appetite for your words; (5) to prepare the way for them by the statements of others, or to lay it upon 'the world'; (6) to make your statement as though you were not aware of its importance, or as though you were surprised into it; (7) to ruin a competitor by leading him into, or by imputing to him, ill-judged speech; (8) to attack under the mask of self-defence; (9) to wrap your meaning in a tale; (10) to put into a man's mouth the answer you wish him to make; (11) to delay speech till the right season; (12) to extort the truth by sudden question, 19-115. All these petty tricks it is useful to know in order to expose them; but they do not constitute business. The wise man looks to his own steps; it is the fool that turns aside to tricks, 116-131.]

P. 77. [1] **Take**: i.e. 'By cunning we mean, &c.' Lat. 'per astutiam intelligimus.' Perhaps some remnant of the old use of 'cunning' in a good sense (meaning 'skill') induces Bacon here to define his use of the word as a 'sinister wisdom.' Cf. for the old use, *Psalms* cxxxvii. 5, 'Let my right hand forget her *cunning*.' See

also *Essay* xiii. l. 25. [4] **Pack cards**: i.e. 'Prepare the cards deceitfully,' in the sense of 'trick,' 'defraud,' like our modern 'shuffle.' So Antony accuses Cleopatra of having '*packed cards* with Cæsar.' *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 14. 19. [4] **Be**: For the use of *be* followed co-ordinately by *are*, cf. 'Where *is* thy husband now? Where *be* thy brothers? Where *are* thy children?' *Rich. III.* iv. 4. 92. See *Sh. Grammar*, 300. It would seem that *be* is the more rhetorical form, but, having become archaic, seemed unfit for repetition. Cf. *Euphuus* (Arber, p. 144), 'As there *be* many working dayes, so *is* there also many holy-dayes.' [9] **Humours**: Bacon has a great contempt for courtier-statesmanship of this kind. In his *Devotions Life*, Vol. i. p. 382, the statesman is thus ironically exhorted: 'If *he* will believe Philautia (selfishness). . . let him not trouble himself too laboriously to sound into any matter deeply, or to execute anything exactly; but let him make himself cunning rather in the *humours and drifts of persons*, than in the nature of *business and affairs*.' [10] **Of**: The preposition is here used appositionally, as in 'the City of London,' 'the name of George.' The meaning is, 'not capable of the real part, that is, business.' Cf. *Essay* xv. 65, 'this part of predictions.' [12] **Practice**: This word here, as in *Essay* iii. 119, means 'plotting.' Cf. *Lear*, ii. 4. 116, 'This *remotion* of the duke and her is *practice* only.' [12] **But, &c.**: i.e. *Only* in their own alley. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 128. [12] **Alley**: probably 'bowling-alley.' Nares quotes 'whether it be in open wide places, or in close *allies*—the chusing of the bowle is the greatest cunning.' *Country Contentment*. G. Markham, p. 58. The Latin translator, both here and in *Essays* xxii. l. 83, xxxix. l. 16, hardly seems alive to the exact force of Bacon's more colloquial English; he has 'in viis quas sæpe contriverunt,' understanding *alley* as the 'path of life.' But the meaning is, that some who can play bowls well in the *alley* to which they are accustomed, may play bowls ill in an *alley* to which they are not accustomed. *Aim* (l. 4) seems to demand this interpretation. For so as see *Sh. Grammar*, Pars. 109, 275. [15] **Mitte, &c.**: 'Turn two men adrift among strangers, and you'll see what either is made of,' said to be a saying of Aristippus. [17] **Haberdashers**: See *Henry VIII.* v. 4. 49, where, instead of the usual 'of small wares,' the Porter's man speaks of *a haberdasher's* wife of small wit.' In this sense, *haberdasher* is said to be derived from the Old Norse *hapartask*, trumpery. *Huberdasher* (of hats) seems derived from a different word, Wedg-

wood, *Dict. Etym.* The meaning is, 'since these men deal in petty tricks which they always have at hand, it will be well to enumerate their tricks.' Bacon is here doing what he praised in Machiavelli; see Introduction, p. cxxxvii. [19] **Wait upon**: Lat. 'closely observe.'

P. 78. [28] **Counsellor**: Either Cecil, or, more probably, Walsingham. Of the latter his panegyrist Lloyd (quoted in Chambers' *Biogr. Dict.*) says, 'To him men's faces spake as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. . . . He outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation.' In 1573 he was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state and sworn of the Privy Council. He died in 1590 and was succeeded by Cecil. [31] **Mought**: *Meahte, mihte, moughte*, are successive forms of the past tense *might*. Morris, *Outlines*, p. 186. [36] **Cross**, &c.: In Rome the custom of accusing a person in such a manner as to necessitate his acquittal (the accuser being in collusion with the accused) was so common as to have a technical name, 'prævarication,' the origin of our 'prevarication.' [48] **Nehemiah**: ii. 1. [54] **Narcissus**: Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 30.

P. 79. [59] **That**: For *that* with suppl. pron., here and in l. 62, see *Sh. Gr.*, Par. 248. [60] **Postscript**: For an instance in which Bacon adopts this advice, see Introd., p. xlv. [70] **Apposed**. *Posed* or *questioned*. A *Poser* was (is still, at Eton) one who puts (*ponit*) questions. [75] **Two**: Probably Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley (W.) If so, Cecil would be the 'cunning' competitor, as he was the successful one. [76] **Quarter**: See note on *Essay* x. l. 53, where to 'keep quarter' is used for 'to keep within bounds.' But 'quarter,' from meaning residence, came to mean 'residence and rations,' or generally 'condition.' 'To keep quarters' with a person may either mean, from its literal sense, 'to keep within bounds in one's dealings' with him, or from the secondary meaning of 'conditions,' 'terms'—'to keep good terms' with him. Cf. 'friends all but now, in *quarter* and in *terms*, like bride and groom.' *Othello*, ii. 3. 180. [88] **Cat**: Originally '*cate* or *cake* in the pan.' Used first of the dexterity of a cook; then of any sudden and dexterous turn. Hence, in the *Vicar of Bray*, 'cat-in-pan' is used for 'turn-coat.' (The Lat. translation, quite missing the sense, has 'which is absurdly enough called turning a Cat in a kettle.') A different explanation from the above is suggested by a passage in *Euphuus* where mention is made (p. 420) of 'the Cat

hat leaueth the Mouse to follow the Milk-pan ;' but this is perhaps derived from a misapprehension of the proverb.

P. 80. [96] **Se non**, &c.: Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 57. 'He had no divergent aims; but his one object was the safety of the Emperor.' *Would* (l. 99) means 'would wish to.' [101] **Carry it**: 'Noise it abroad.' [108] **Fetch**, &c.: The metaphor seems to be derived from a hunter *fetching* a compass so as not to be scented and *beating* a covert. [109] **Beat over**: Shakspeare uses *beat on*, but apparently for 'hammering on,' in one's thoughts, *Tempest*, v. 1. 246. [113] **Paul's**: 'I bought him in *Paul's*,' says Falstaff of his serving-man, *2 Hen. IV.* i. 2. 58. It was a common promenade and place of advertisement and traffic. [117] **A good**, &c.: Bacon often argues that good men ought to *know* the ways of bad men lest virtue should be 'open and unfenced.' *Intro.*, p. cxxxvii. [120] **Resorts**: Fr. *ressort*, from Fr. *sortir*, which is probably derived (Littré, who dissents from Brachet's derivation) from Lat. *surgere*, to rise, through the form *surrectire*. *Resort* seems used here in the sense of source or fountain. For (1) this sense gives the fit antithesis to *falls*; (2) in the *De Augmentis*, ii. 7, where 'the pump of business' is contrasted with 'the true and inward *resorts*,' the Lat. is 'fomites,' apparently (W.) a mistake for 'fontes;' (3) the antithesis between *fountains* and *falls* is justified (W.) by a quotation from Fuller's *Holy State*, xxv.: 'Mr. Perkins . . . was born the first, and died the last year of Queen Elizabeth; so that his life streamed in equal length with her reign, and they both had their *fountains and falls* together;' (4) this sense seems to agree with 'main,' which appears here to be used for 'the sea.' The meaning then is, 'many can make a striking start, and now and then a dexterous stroke, but they have no power of continuous administration.' The contrast between the petty '*resorts and falls*,' and the vast '*main*,' is illustrated by *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1. 96, where the 'inland brook' is contrasted with the 'main of waters.' [124] **Are**: The subject is omitted. The previous sentence is perhaps regarded as though it were 'you shall see that they find . . . but are no ways able.' *Ways* is the possessive form used adverbially. [124] **Looses**: A 'loose' was 'the act of loosing or discharging an arrow.' It therefore means 'a sudden discharge of business,' with something of the meaning of our modern colloquial 'shot.' See *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 752:—

'(Time) often, at his very *loose*, decides
That which long process could not arbitrate.'

P. 81. [93] **Now**: The word *now* seems to apologise for the new-fashioned colloquial phrase, 'put tricks on.' It is used by Stephano, *Tempest*, ii. 2. 61; and by the Clown in *All's Well*, &c., iv. 5. 63. [127] **Direction**: 'Wits of direction,' i.e. 'Men with a turn for directing others rather than for being directed.' [130] **Salomon**: 'The wise man giveth heed to his own steps: the fool turneth aside to deceits.' *Proverbs* xiv. 15. The form *Salomon* is adopted in the Septuagint and Vulgate, and also in the versions of Wyclif, Tyndall, and Cranmer. In 1557 the Geneva version adopted the more Hebrew form of *Solomon*, and this was introduced into the A. V. 1611.

XXIII

Of Wisdom for a Man's self

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 5-6, 'especially—country'; 27-32, 'of bad—past'; 41-53, 'wisdom—pinioned.'

[Self-love must be reconciled with love for others, 1-10. In kings, self-love is less mischievous than in ministers, whose interests often diverge from those of the state, and whose petty ends overthrow the vast affairs of the sovereign, whom they conciliate by flattery, 11-40. Wisdom for a man's self is in many cases a bestial thing, and very often unfortunate, 41-53.]

P. 82. [1] **Shrewd**: *Mischievous*. In *Piers the Plowman*, Ed. Skeat, i. 127, *shrewe* means Satan, 'the cursed one' (from O. E. *schrewe*, to 'beschrewe' or 'curse'), and Wyclif uses '*schrewid* generacioun,' Acts ii. 40, for E. V. 'untoward.' In *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 23. 8, Bacon speaks of ants as 'very *hurtful* for the garden.' We still speak of 'a *shrewd* turn, a *shrewd* blow.' The ant is declared to be innocent, and this is said to be one among many instances where Bacon is mistaken about common matters of observation. See Introduction, p. lxxxvii. [4] **Self-love**: In Bacon's time the word 'selfishness' had not yet been coined. 'Philautia' or 'philauty' was occasionally used to express it, see Introduction, p. xxxi. But, this failing, and 'suicism' being also rejected, 'selfishness' was coined by some Puritan divines, and was a new word in

1654: 'If constancy may be tainted with this selfishness (to use our new wordings of old and general actings).' *Zootomia*, Whitlock, quoted by Archbishop Trench, *Past and Present*, p. 156. But *selfishness* differs from *self-love* in that the former implies a preference of self to society, the latter does not. Pope tells us, *Essay on Man*, iv. 396, that 'true Self-love and SOCIAL are the same;' and he bids us distinguish between the extremes 'of mad Good-nature and of mean Self-love,' *M. E.* iii. 228. Philautia in Aristotle (*Eth.* ix. 8) is used in a good sense. The true φίλαυτος is the man that loves and gratifies that which is most truly himself, i.e. the rational part of himself. [5] **Thyself**: Polonius tells his son that truth to himself is incompatible with falsehood to others:—

'This above all; to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.' *Hamlet*, i. 3. 8.

[5] **Right earth**: i.e. 'it is exactly like the earth;' Lat. 'it sa^ours exactly (recte) of the terrestrial nature.' *Earth* is not here meant to suggest *earthy*, mouldering, or corrupt, but earth as opposed to the motions of the heavenly bodies. [7] **That only**: Here Bacon distinctly goes with the old against the new astronomy. And elsewhere he says, 'I am persuaded that the diurnal motion of the earth is most false.' See Introduction, p. xcii. In the *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 23. 10, Bacon distinguishes between 'a wisdom of counsel' and 'a wisdom of pressing one's own fortune.' They differ as much 'as *sapere* (wisdom) and *sibi sapere* (wisdom for a man's self), the one moving as it were to the circumference, the other to the centre.' In that passage the 'motion to the circumference' seems to mean 'self-wisdom' flying off into space, and 'motion to the centre' seems to mean 'wisdom' attracted toward the common good. [12] **Prince**: Compare *Hamlet*, iii. 5. 11:—

'The single and peculiar life is bound
With all the strength and armour of the mind
To keep itself from noyance; but much more
That spirit upon whose weal depends and rests
The lives of many.'

For the use of *self* (l. 11) as a noun, cf. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 20. [13] **Peril**: The Lat. has 'publico periculo et fortuna degunt,' 'they live to the peril or to the prosperity of the public.' Strictly, we ought to have in the English text 'peril or prosperity;' but, for shortness, 'peril' stands alone. [17] **Eccentric**: An *eccentric*

circle (*Essay* xvii. l. 30) was a circle whose centre was slightly shifted from a certain point. In the same way the orbit of the selfish man has its centre shifted from his Master or his Country to Self. [21] **The accessory** : 'In the second place' ; Lat. *accessorii tantum loco esse*, 'to stand in the place of a mere appendage.'

P. 83. [29] **Bias** : As the bias diverts the bowl from the straight course, so private ends divert the selfish man from the straight course of faithfulness. [33] **Self** : The selfish man is regarded as *selling* his master's disadvantage to his enemy, or to ill-fortune personified, in return for some private advantage. [35] **It—as** : '*Such—that.*' [36] **And it were** : '*Even were.*' ; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 101. [48] **Cicero** : *Letters, Ad Quintum Fratrem*, iii. 8 : 'How completely does he distance all rivals in his own affections !'

XXIV.

Of Innovations

The *Antitheta* are as follows :—

FOR.

1. All medicines are innovations.
2. He that shows new remedies waits for new evils.
3. Time is the greatest innovator ; why then should we not imitate time ?
4. As for precedents, ancient ones are inappropriate, moderns are corrupt and selfish.
5. Leave it to fools and quibblers to regulate their actions by precedent.

AGAINST.

1. New-born creatures are always unshapely.
2. I would have no founder but time.
3. There's nothing new that does not do some wrong ; for the new patch rends the old coat.
4. Things that have won their way through custom, though they may not be good, yet at least fit well together.
5. What innovator succeeds in imitating Time, who so insinuates his innovations that they are imperceptible ?

6. As those who bring honours into their family are commonly more deserving than their descendants; so are precedents mostly better than imitations.
7. A froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation.
8. Since of themselves things change for the worse, if by wise counsel we do not change them for the better, what end will there be to evil?
9. The slaves of custom are the laughing-stocks of time.
6. Whatever comes unexpectedly causes less pleasure where it helps, and more displeasure where it harms.

[Innovations, though at first ill-shapen, mostly surpass imitations, and are needed to keep pace with the innovations of Time, 1-14. What is customary is more harmonious and agreeable than what is strange; yet a perverse retention of custom is laughable, and as turbulent a thing as innovation, 15-26. Innovate, then, like time, greatly but gradually, 27-34. Avoid experiments and changes in States, except for necessity or reformation; and, while not always rejecting, always suspect novelty, 35-44.]

P. 84. [2] **Innovations**: Shakspeare seems always (see Schmidt's *Lexicon*) to use the word 'of a change for the worse.' Bacon sometimes, as in l. 9, uses the word of 'a change for the better.' In this passage the Lat. has 'novis institutis,' in l. 9, 'innovatio.' [6] **Attained**: To 'attain a precedent by imitation' seems to be 'to reach to the excellence of a precedent by imitation.' This is confirmed by the Latin, 'Rerum exemplaria et primordia (quando feliciter jacta sunt) imitationem ætatis sequentis ut plurimum superant.' [8] **Strongest at first**: This seems of a piece with Bacon's gloomy preference of youth to manhood. See Introduction, p. cxliv. It seems truer to say that Good and Ill are alike in producing weaker impulses, but stronger habits, 'in continuance.' See Bishop Butler's sermon on *Habit*. [12] **Of course**: The modern meaning of this phrase is, 'naturally,' 'as the result of the natural course of things' (cf. *Measure for Measure*, iii. 1. 259 'this being granted in (due) course'). But here *of course* is used in its original meaning, for 'as the result of mere progress' (Lat. 'decursu solo')

'by simply running its course.' [16] **It** : For the insertion of 'it' after 'what,' see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 252. [16] **Fit** : i.e. 'Fits in *with circumstances*.' The Latin inserts words to this effect, 'aptum tamen esse temporibus.' (Here, and in l. 19, there is, without doubt, an allusion to St. Matthew ix. 16.

P. 85. [31] **Pairs** : For *impairs*. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 460. [32] **Holpen** : and *comen*, not uncommon in Bacon. The old *-en* lingered in these two words : in the former because of the harsh sound of the modern *helped* ; in the latter because of the ambiguity arising from the use of *come* as a Participle and as a Present Tense. [39] **Pretendeth** : i.e. 'Puts forward as a pretext.' [40] **A Suspect** : This noun is generally used by Shakspeare (Sonnet lxx.) and Ben Jonson for 'suspicion.' But here it is used for 'suspected person,' as in *Essay* liii. 18. Nares quotes from Wilson's *James I.*, 'w^hose case in no sort I do fore-judge, . . . but take him as the law takes him, hitherto for a *suspect*.' It would seem to be a technical term. [42] **Look**, &c. : Jeremiah vi. 16. This is a less conservative version than our A.V. But the quotation is repeated in Latin to the same effect as here in the *Adv. of Learning*, i. 5. 1., with this comment : 'Antiquity deserveth that reverence that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way ; but when the discovery is well taken, *then to make progression*.' [43] **To walk** : See this passage illustrated in *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 416.

XXV

Of Dispatch

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 6-10, 'and—dispatch.'

[Dispatch is to be measured by the ultimate, not by the immediate saving of time ; for time is the measure of business, 1-26. Dispatch is gained by patient hearing ; by keeping to the point, except where digression may conciliate ; but above all by judicious arrangement of subject and choice of times, 27-55. A large committee may debate ; but preparing and executing should be the work of a few. Dispatch is facilitated where there is something in writing to discuss, 56-63.]

P. 86. [1] **Affected** : *Desired*. Hence 'affected dispatch' means 'an *excessive desire* for dispatch.' See *Essay* i. l. 3. But

cf. *Life*, vi. 190, 'I have seen an *affectation* of dispatch turn utterly to delay and length.'¹ [8] **Speed**: After this word the Latin adds 'sed in motu eorundem humiliore et æquabili,' 'but it is the less ostentatious motion, continued uniformly.' [11] **For**: seemingly 'in proportion to,' 'considering'; for the Lat. has 'ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur,' 'that they may seem to have done much in little time.' But it might mean 'to come off speedily for that particular occasion, without regard to the future,' as we say 'for the present,' 'for the moment.' [11] **Periods**: A 'false *period*' in business is like a 'false period' in speech, a sentence that appears to be, but is not finished. The Lat. has 'periódos,' which is also found at the end of *Essay* xxii. 22, with 'pausas' 'pauses': 'periódos et pausas negotiorum.' [15] **Backward**, &c.: *Life*, vi. 190, 'It makes me remember what I heard one say of a judge that sat in Chancery, that he would make eighty orders in a morning . . . and this it is which makes sixty, eighty, an hundred orders in a cause, to and fro, begetting one another, and, like Penelope's web, doing and undoing.' [18] **Stay**, &c.: Attributed by Bacon, in his *Apophthegms* (76), to Sir Amias Paulet, ambassador in France, with whom Bacon was placed by his father in 1576. Cf. also the saying of Sir Nicholas Bacon, *Life*, vi. 190: 'It was my father's ordinary word, *You must give me time.*'

P. 87 [22] **Hand**: As we speak of buying a thing '(at) first *hand*' or '(at) second *hand*,' so Bacon seems here to use *hand* for 'seller,' and 'at a dear *hand*' appears to mean 'from a dear *seller*.' [34] **Moderator**: This word is still employed in Cambridge to denote an examiner, who once used to *moderate* or control the 'actors,' i.e. those who were performing their 'acts' or exercises for a degree. [39] **Curious**: Literally, 'full of care'; hence 'elaborate.' Burton (p. 73 of Murray's *Specimens*) uses the word of over-dressed women: 'their best robes, ribbins, chains, jewels, lawns, linnens, laces, spangles, must come on; they are beyond all measure

¹ From meaning 'excessive desire,' 'straining after,' *affect* naturally came to mean 'aiming after something unnatural': and hence the modern meaning of *affect* and *affectation*. But the word *affection* has retained the meaning of 'desire' or 'love'; only it is used of persons, not of things. Bacon (*Works*, ii. 10) uses *affection* in the sense of *affectation*: but in *Works*, ii. 82, while apparently using the words almost in the same sense, he seems to have distinguished between them: 'two bills as he (Bacon) termed it, not drawn with polished pen but with a polished heart, free from *affection* and *affectation*.'

coy, nice, and too *curious* on a sudden.' [41] **Passages**: The Lat. has '*transitiones bellæ*,' so that the word seems here to mean the joints in a speech, which 'serve to connect one part with what follows, as one *passes* from the former to the latter. In these 'joints' the speaker has opportunities of quitting the subject for a moment, which opportunities if abused, are 'great wastes of time.' In the same spirit he says (*Life*, v. 243) that 'the true care of a king is to think what you would have done in chief, and not of the *passages*': and (*Life*, iv. 280) '*passages* of action' are opposed to 'the real conclusions.' But elsewhere Bacon thinks 'they be matters of no small use' (*Works*, iv. p. 492), at least in rhetoric, speaking of them as 'those parts of speech which answer to the vestibules, back-doors, ante-chambers, withdrawing chambers, passages, &c., of a house. Such are *prefaces*, *conclusions*, *digressions*, *transitions*, intimations of what is coming, excusations, and a number of the kind.' [44] **Bravery**: *Ostentation*. The Lat. has '*gloriolæ captatrices*,' i.e. 'clap-trap.' [45] **Material**: 'Beware of coming too soon to the point or *matter*;' the Lat. has '*cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas*,' 'beware of coming to the point at the very beginning.' [51] **Subtle**: See *Essay* xxvi. l. 29.

F. 88. [58] **The Middle**: Mr. Gardiner (*History from the Accession*, &c., Vol. ii. p. 117) remarks that Bacon, applying this principle to politics, assigns the examination or discussion to the Houses of Parliament, but the initiative and executive to the King and his Council. [62] **Pregnant of direction**: 'Rich in guidance (towards new plans),' 'suggestive.' For Bacon's proneness to writing, see Introduction, p. xx., note. [63] **Ashes**, &c.: This simile must not be pressed; for although 'ashes' may represent what remains after the extinction or elimination of plans in council, yet 'dust' does not seem properly to represent what is 'indefinite.' Moreover, the 'dust' of some substances may be more, not less, generative than the 'ashes' of others.

XXVI

Of Seeming Wise

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 44-47, 'seeming wise—over-formal.'

[Some men have shifts for seeming wiser than they are, such as reserve, mystery, peremptoriness, contemptuous self-confidence, subtlety in distinctions, and, generally, the negative art of objecting, 1-40. Let these empty persons gain reputation, but not employment; for they are worse servants than fools, 41-47.]

P. 89. [4] **The Apostle**: 2 Timothy iii. 5. [8] **Magno**, &c.: '(P)erforms' trifles with vast effort.' [10] **Prospectives**: A *prospective* or *perspective* was the name given to an optical instrument used (1) for seeing distant objects clearly; (2) for seeing pictures as though they were solid, or in some other respect different from what they really are. See *Twelfth Night*, v. 1. 224; *Richard II.*, ii. 2. 18. [10] **Formalists**: The Latin has 'affectatores,' which seems to mean 'affected people.' 'Which false point of wisdom', goes back to 'ease,' &c., in the previous sentence. [18] **Cicero**: *In Pisonem*, vi.: 'You answer, with one eyebrow hoisted to your forehead and the other bent down to your chin, that you do not approve of cruelty.'

P. 90. [23] **Bear it**: For this use of *it*, see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 226. [25] **Make good**: 'Cannot make good or approved in the sight of others,' 'cannot prove.' [27] **Impertinent or Curious**: 'Not pertaining to the point, or uselessly elaborate.' [30] **Blanch**: Here, as in *Essay* xx. l. 128, 'gloss over' (lit. *whiten*); and so avoid, pass by: Lat. 'prætervehuntur.' [30] **A. Gellius**: 'A madman, who would fain chop up with nice verbal quibbles the weighty realities of business.' But Mr. Wright says, 'Not Aulus Gellius but Quintilian (x. 1), who says of Seneca, *Si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.*' [32] **Plato**: *Protagoras*, chap. xxiii. p. 337. Cf. *Essay* xxv. 50, where a warning is given that 'the distribution be not too subtle.' [35] **To be**: 'In being,' *Sh. Grammar*, 356. [36] **Affect**, &c.: 'Try to gain (*Essay* i. l. 3) credit in or for objecting,' *Sh.*'

Grammar, 356. [38] **Allowed** : Approved, see *Essay* xviii. l. 5. [41] **Inward** : 'Hidden;' one whose poverty is cloaked by imposture. The Lat. is 'Decoctor rei familiaris occultus,' i.e. 'a secret squanderer of his property.' The juxtaposition of the singular verbs *is* and *hath* with the plural form *their* deserves notice. Compare, for the use of the plural after 'or,' Pope *M. E.* iii. 241; v. 28. [46] **You were** : See, for the construction, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 352. For *absurd* see *Essay* vi. l. 72.

XXVII

Of Friendship

The *Antitheta* are as follows :—

FOR.

1. Friendship does for us the work of fortitude, only more pleasantly. (See next page.)
 2. Friendship gives a sweeter flavour to every blessing.
 3. It is the worst kind of solitude to have no true friends.
- It is a punishment of bad faith to be deprived of friends.

AGAINST.

1. He that links himself in close friendship, fetters himself with new necessities.
2. It is the mark of a weak mind to wish to go shares in fortune.

In the Edition of 1612 A.D. the Essay on Friendship is as follows :—

'There is no greater desert or wildernes than to bee without true friends. For without friendship, society is but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies inanimate, vnion strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth ioies, and diuideth griefes. Therefore whosoever wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe *Friendship*. For the yoke of *Friendship* maketh the yoke of *fortune* more light. There bee some whose liues are, as if they perpetually plaid vpon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues. But

perpetuall dissimulation is painfull; and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no Nature, is an exquisit *Hierling*. Liue not in continuall smother, but take some friends with whom to communicate. It will vnfold thy vnderstanding; it will euaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy businesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to wnesse to himselfe, that it is not vpon facility, but vpon true vse of friendship that hee imparteth himselfe. Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; so is it an imposition vpon great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of friendship is but a speculation. It is friendship when a man can say to himselfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him, I single him from the generality of those with whom I liue; I make him a portion of my owne wishes.'

This Essay is mentioned more than once by Bacon in connection with one of his best friends, Toby Matthew. In a letter written early in 1622: 'Good Mr. Matthew, it is not for nothing that I have deferred my Essay *De Amicitia*, whereby it hath expected the proof of your great friendship toward me.' And in 1623 A.D. he writes again: 'For the Essay of *Friendship*, while I took your Speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But, since you call for it, I shall perform it.'

[Dislike of society has somewhat of the beast, but (except where it is discarded for spiritual contemplations) nothing of the god, 1-14. But solitude consists not in the absence of companions, but in the absence of friends, 15-28. A principal fruit of friendship is the disburdening of the heart. Without this happiness kings and monarchs, even the wisest and most politic, have thought their felicity imperfect. Men without friends are cannibals of their own hearts; and (like an alchymist's stone, or rather like all natural union) friendship works both positively and negatively; and, in both cases, for good, 28-138. A second fruit is, the clarifying of the understanding, partly from seeing one's thoughts turned into words in speech with friends, partly from receiving friendly counsel, which, in morals and in business, is the best remedy against self-flattery and blindness, 139-205. Taking counsel by pieces from several counsellors increases the risk of unfaithful counsel; and it is like taking many physicians, who distract rather than direct, 205-227. The last fruit of friendship is the prolongation of life by acquiring another and more versatile self.]

P. 97, [1] *Him*: Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 1, 'He that either cannot, or, by reason of self-sufficing powers, need not, associate with others, is no part of a State; wherefore such a one is either beast or

god.' The Latin translation adds a sting by inserting 'etiam,' 'even for him that spake it,' insinuating a general charge of mingling falsehood and truth. For Bacon's dislike of Aristotle see Introduction, pp. xxii., lxxi. Aristotle puts the solitary and isolated life of the self-sufficing thinker higher than that of the mere citizen; on the ground that it is less dependent on external conditions and therefore more divine. In this he was opposed to Plato, who requires his philosophers in the *Republic* to take part in the work of politics. Aristotle's view, which was further developed by the Stoics, is doubtless due in part to the circumstances of his time, which witnessed the decay of the weak Greek communities and the establishment of the Macedonian Empire. Compare the treatise on Friendship in the *Ethics* (Bks. 8 and 9) with this *Essay*. [7] **Should**: Here used simply, in contrast with *hath*, to denote that the statement is not made by the writer, but by someone else, and may or must be false. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 328. Compare also *Life*, Vol. iii. 148: 'I hear it, but I believe it not, that you *should* do me some ill office to my Lord of Essex.' [12] **Epimenides**: A contemporary of Solon, was said to have fallen asleep in a cave in his youth, and to have continued in this state without interruption for fifty-seven years. Bacon is rather hard upon a man who certainly produced on the Athenians (in 596) such effects as could only have been produced by one who loved to 'sequester himself for a higher conversation.' But by the words 'falsely and feignedly' Bacon intends perhaps to attack the false traditions about the men, not the men themselves. St. Paul, *Epist. Titus*, i. 12, has preserved a verse of Epimenides about his countrymen, the Cretans or Candians. [12] **Numa**: The legendary founder of the Roman religious worship. King Numa was said to have been taught by the goddess Egeria in a grove near Rome, Liv. i. 19. [12] **Empedocles**: A philosopher of Agrigentum, in Sicily, flourished about B.C. 444. Traditions spoke of him as a magician, and asserted that he threw himself into the crater of Mount *Ætna*, that his disappearance might create a belief that he was a god. [13] **Apollonius**: See note on *Essay* xix. l. 36. [19] **Meeteth with**: As we say in modern English, 'hits.' [19] **Magna**: 'A great city is a great solitude.' *Adagia*, p. 506. A comic poet quoted by Strabo, xvi. 738, punning on the name of Megalopolis, said ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. Strabo applies it to Babylon (W.)

P. 92. [23] **Mere**: Entire; see *Essay* iii. l. 70; and ci. 'the

mere (i.e. utter) destruction of the Turkish fleet,' *Othello*, ii. 2. 3. [27] **Taketh it** : Cf. our modern use, 'he took the fever from his brother.' *Humanity* (Lat. 'homine') here means 'human nature.' [34] **Sarza** : Sarsaparilla. [35] **Flower** : The name given to 'the best part of anything ;' hence 'the finest part of meal,' or *flour* ; and here to the '*flour* of sulphur.' *Flower* and *flour* are different spellings of the same word. [39] **Civil** : First 'Non-military ;' then 'non-professional,' referring to any profession ; and so here, non-clerical, unofficial, informal. [42] **As** : That, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 109 ; cf. ll. 70, 78, 81, 97, below. [48] **Sorteth** : *Turns out*, from the meaning of *lot* (Lat. 'sors'). [50] **Privado** : A Spanish word, cf. 'desperado.' It is not used by Shakspeare ; but Bacon, *Works*, vi. 136, has 'she (the Lady Margaret) sent him (Perkin Warbeck) unknown into Portugal, with some *privado* of her own, to have an eye upon him.' Cf. also *Life*, vi. 14. 'It is no new thing for Kings and Princes to have their *privadoes*, their favourites, their friends.' [51] **Conversation** : Intercourse, cf. *All's Well*, &c., i. 3. 240. [53] **Participes**, &c. : 'Partners in cares.' The Greek equivalent of this title was (Dio Cass. lviii. 4) given to Sejanus by Tiberius (W.)

P. 93. [65] **That** : For *that*, inserted, see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 285. [66] **Turned on him** : North's Plutarch, p. 531, 'All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly again how men did honour the rising, not the setting of the sun.' [75] **By the arm** : North's Plutarch, p. 614, 'Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand and brought him out of his house.' See *Julius Cæsar*, ii. 2. 102. [80] **Venefica** : Cicero's *Philippics*, xiii. 11. [83] **Mæcenus** : Dio Cassius, liv. 6 (W.) [88] **Tiberius** : Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 40, 'In consideration of our friendship I have not hidden these thoughts.'

P. 94. [90] **Altar** : Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 40. [94] **Plautianus** : *Decline and Fall*, chap. v. ; Prætorian Prefect, finally put to death by Severus. [105] **Half-piece** : *Piece* is often (*Winter's Tale*, v. 3. 38.) used for 'work of art,' and perhaps 'half-piece' means here 'the half of a picture or sculpture.' The Lat. has 'mutilam,' 'mutilated.' But see Nares on '*half-faced* groat.' [109] **Comineus** : Philippe de Comines, the historian, born about 1445. The reason why he left Charles the Bold for Louis XI. is not known ; perhaps it is explained by the text. He died in 1509. [114] **Perish** : Transitive ; compare 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 2. 100, 'Because

thy flinty heart . . . might in thy palace *perish* Margaret.' [120] **Would** : 'Should wish to.'

P. 95. [119] **Parable** : 'Parable' means 'a comparison,' and therefore may include Metaphor, which is the word we should prefer now for Pythagoras's saying. [127] **But he** : For constr. see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 123. [132] **Still** : Always. [133] **Praying in** : i.e. 'Calling in;' a legal term (*Antony*, v. 2. 27). 'In' is here an Adverb, not a Preposition. The Latin has 'absque auxilio notionum chymicarum,' 'without the help of chymical notions.' [135] **Bodies** : This word means 'all material things,' not merely 'human bodies.' The Lat. has 'rebus naturalibus.' This is an axiom of Prima Philosophia. But it is not in point unless it be admitted that 'joy' is a 'natural motion' and grief a 'violent impression.' [148] **Clarify** : We generally use this affix in a transitive signification, as 'magnify,' 'stultify.' But here the meaning is (Lat. 'clarescere') 'become clear.' *Break up* (not expressed in the Latin) seems to be a metaphor from freezing. [153] **Himself** : i.e. 'Wiser than his usual or former self;' perhaps a Græcism. [157] **In figure** : The words 'in figure' are omitted in North's Plutarch, p. 111, 'the goodly images of either of them are seen.' The Latin translation is '*distincte conspiciuntur*,' 'are *distinctly* beheld.' I do not remember a similar use of 'in figure.' It seems to mean 'in *full outline*,' 'entirely.' Note the anachronism in Themistocles speaking of 'cloth of Arras.'

P. 96. [164] **Were better** : The full construction is, '(for) a man (it) were better (to) relate his story to,' &c. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 230, 252. [165] **Statua** : Compare *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 2. 192, 'Even at the base of Pompey's *statua*.' [171] **Dry light** : In the *Adv. of Learning, Works*, vol. iii. 267, Bacon quotes this saying differently : 'Heraclitûs the profound said *Lumen siccum optima anima* [Dry light is the best soul]; but it becometh *lumen madidum* or *maceratum* [a moist or softened light] being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections.' The Greek is αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχῇ σοφωτάτη. But it has been conjectured by Dr. Thompson that this is a corruption of αὐγὴ ψυχῇ σοφωτάτη; in which case the right rendering would be 'the dry soul is the wisest.' Heraclitus insists on the uncertainty and variableness of knowledge derived from the *senses* : reason is the criterion of truth.' Hence he speaks of the mind when acting independently of the senses as *dry*

in a metaphor suggested by drunkenness, and perhaps with a reference to his cosmical theory of fire as the ultimate substance (cf. *Ar. De Anima*, i. 2.) Compare what Bacon says, speaking of the *Idola Tribus*, *Nov. Org.* i. 49. 'Intellectus humanus luminis sicci non est sed recipit infusionem a voluntate et affectibus.' [180] **A man's self**: See *Essay* x. l. 29, 'The arch-flatterer is a man's self.' [182] **Manners**: Lat. 'moribus,' here 'morals,' as is shewn by 'morality' in l. 187. [187] **Flat**: Our modern 'dull,' cf. *Hamlet*, i. 2. 133. Lat. 'paulo hebetior.' [188] **Unproper**: Inappropriate; for the prefix see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 442. [195] **St. James**: i. 24.

P. 97. [202] **Rest**: In thirty years this prediction was falsified. The musket-rest was discarded in the Civil Wars, the firelock having been invented about 1635. Knight's *Pict. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 621. [203] **To think**: The construction is exactly paralleled by *Macbeth*: 'To know myself, i.e. if I am to know myself, 'twere best not know my deed.' For the indefinite use of the Infinitive see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 356. The meaning is, 'As regards thinking, or, if a man is to think himself all in all, he may think any other absurdity.' The next sentence means, 'But when the presumptuous man has said and done all that he can to prove his point,' Lat. 'quicquid dici possit in contrarium.' [210] **Dangers**: For Bacon's sense of the completeness of the trust to be reposed in a counsellor see *Essay* xx. l. 5. [216] **Of**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 216. [225] **Rest not**, &c.: Bacon does not discuss the advantages of hearing much advice and selecting a little, which is said to have been Washington's practice. He appears to be rather treating the case of the man that does not feel himself competent to select, but wishes to take advice from the best quarter.

P. 98. [233] **To life**: Modern Eng. 'to the life'; Lat. 'ad vivum.' [233] **Cast**: First, 'throw,' then, 'throw a number of things together,' so as to cast up the total; hence 'to reckon.' 'You cast the event of war, and summed the account of chance,' 2 *Henry IV.* i. 1. 66. [236] **Ancients**: Zeno Cittieus (see *Diog. Laert.* vii. 1. 23); also Aristotle, *Magn. Mor.* ii. 15; *Eth. Eudem.* vii. 12 (W.) [238] **Their time**: 'Their (appointed) time.' Cf. *In Memoriam*, 'Our little systems have their day.' [238] **In desire**: Lat. 'in medio operum, &c.,' 'in the midst of some works which they long to accomplish.' [243] **In his desires**: i.e. 'So far as his desires are concerned.' Compare Aristotle

Ethics, ix. 9. 5-10, where he maintains that the true value of friendship to the good man lies in the doubly vivid consciousness of the value of life and the pleasures of virtue, which sympathy with an *alter ego* gives him. [254] **Proper** : Peculiar. [257] **On terms** : 'On terms (of honour) ;' Lat. 'salva dignitate.' Compare *Hamlet*, v. 2. 257, 'I am satisfied in nature, . . . but in my terms of honour I stand aloof.' See also *Life*, vol. iii. p. 138, note, 'For whereas before he stood upon terms of honour with the secretary, now he fell flat to the ground, &c.' *Term* is a 'terminus,' or 'marked boundary ;' hence an 'arrangement' or condition.' [258] **Sorteth**, &c. : 'Suits ;' from Lat. *sors*, the 'lot' that falls to or suits anyone. A friend is not bound by the restrictions that naturally befall or suit the character (*person*, Lat. *persona*) of father, husband, enemy, &c.

XXVIII

Of Expense

The Edition of 1612 omits ll. 10-13, 'certainly—part ;' 22-28, 'a man—decay.'

{Riches are to be used, and on extraordinary occasions to be sacrificed ; but ordinary expense should be strictly limited and inspected, 1-12. Such inspection is wise and not mean ; but if you never inspect, you should change your servants often ; if rarely, you should aim at a fixed income, 13-22. To spend freely on one side you must save on another. In clearing yourself from debts avoid haste as well as delay. Do not despise small expenses, nor lightly begin expenses that will be continual, 22-40.)

.P. 99. [3] **Limited** : i.e. by this and by no narrower limits. For the manner in which Bacon welcomes 'voluntary undoing,' see Introduction, p. xxix. [7] **As** : That, *Sh. Grammar*, 109. [8] **Servants** : Bacon did not obey his own precepts. See Introduction, p. xxxiii. [9] **Show** : Cf. *Essay* xxxii. l. 40.

P. 100. [18] **Choose** : Infinitive after *had need*, i.e. 'would have need,' or 'would need.' [22] **Certainties** : The Lat. has 'he should turn matters of computation into certain income and also certain disbursements.' The meaning is, that with fixed income and fixed expenses there is less danger of fraud on the part of

stewards. [24] **Diet**, &c.: *Diet* appears to mean the master's meals; and *hall*, hospitality in the servants' hall. [33] **By degree**: But, on the other hand, see *Essay* xxxviii. l. 21, 'But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best.'

P. 101. [39] **Which . . . that**: One among several instances shewing Bacon's indiscriminating use of *which* and *that*. For Bacon does not mean 'all charges,' but only 'charges that will continue.'

XXIX

Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms

The original of this Essay was a treatise *On the true Greatness of Britain*, thus referred to in a passage of Bacon's Diary, dated July 28, 1608: 'Finishing my treatise of the greatness of Britain, with aspect ad pol[iticam], i.e. with special reference to the politics of the day. The Diary continues as follows, with abbreviations thus supplied by Mr. Spedding (*Life*, vol. iv. p. 27): 'The fairest [course], without dis[order] or per[il] is the gener[al] persuad[ing] to K[ing] and peop[le] and course of infusing everywhere the foundat[ion] in this Isle of Mon[archy] in the West, as an apt seat, state, people, for it. So civilising Ireland, furdur coloniz[ing] the wild of Scot[land], annexing the Low Countries.'

This Mr. Spedding explains as an indication of the policy judged by Bacon best to meet the impending collision between King and people, by diverting the national attention from internal disputes to the foundation of a great Western Empire, 'a sun rising in the West.' It is for this reason that Bacon continually advocates external war as the legitimate exercise of a healthful nation, and when all hope of such a war has passed, he turns his attention to a Holy War, or rather a war against the Turks. As early as 1607 Bacon speaks to this effect in the House of Commons: 'And for Greatness, Mr. Speaker, I think a man may speak it soberly and without bravery, that this kingdom of England, having Scotland united, Ireland reduced, the sea provinces of the Low Countries contracted, and

shipping maintained, is one of the greatest monarchies in forces truly esteemed that hath been in the world. For, certainly, the kingdoms here on earth have a resemblance with the Kingdom of Heaven, which our Saviour compareth, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a very small grain, yet such an one as is apt to grow and spread. . . . And therefore, if I shall speak unto you mine heart, methinks we should a little disdain that the nation of Spain, which, however of late it has grown to rule, yet of ancient times served many ages first under Carthage, then under Rome, after under Saracens, Goths, and others—should of late years take unto themselves that spirit as to dream of a monarchy in the West, according to that device, *Video solem orientem in occidente*, only because they have ravished from some wild and unarmed people mines and stores of gold; and, on the other side, that this island of Britain—seated and manned as it is, and that hath, I make no question, the best vein in the world, that is, the best soldiers in the world—shall think of nothing but reckonings and audits, and *meum* and *tuum*, and I cannot tell what.' See also Introduction, pp. cxx.-cxxx. By 'true greatness' in this Essay Bacon, means 'expansive power' or 'force,' or, to use his own words, 'the power and forces of an Estate;' and the epithet 'true' is added to distinguish this 'greatness' from mere 'greatness in bulk and territory.' 'True greatness,' to his mind, implied the power of acquiring extended territory; and hence in the Latin translation the title is 'De proferendis Imperij finibus,' 'Of extending the bounds of Empire.' This Essay, besides being much enlarged, varies also greatly from the text of the corresponding Essay (entitled 'Of the Greatness of Kingdoms') in the Edition of 1612. Roughly speaking, we may say that the latter does not contain ll. 22-34; 54-83; 92-102; 114-125; 129-181; 182, 258; 265-325.

[Of statesmen, many can curry favour with their masters and reputation with the vulgar; some can manage affairs, but very few can make a small state great, 1-33. The true greatness of a state does not fall under computation, nor does it consist in greatness of territory, nor in military equipment, whether of men or money; but it depends on the breed of man, not mercenaries, but natives—33-87. To cherish the warlike spirit, beware of over-taxing, especially without consent of the people; let not the gentlemen multiply so as to drive out the yeomen, but keep the plough in free hands. Also encourage noblemen to maintain martial retinues—87-140. Naturalise freely, imitating therein Rome, not Sparta nor Spain—141-181. Let sedentary arts—since slavery is now generally abolished—be assigned to foreigners; but, above all, let the nation profess war, and be awake on any occasion of arming—181-258. The body politic

cannot be healthy without the exercise of war ; and for greatness (happiness is not the question), a state must imitate Spain, and be always under arms. The mastery of the sea sometimes decides wars, and is always a great military advantage. Modern wars seem to be made in the dark, as compared with the wars in ancient time—238-324. Though we cannot add to the greatness of the human body, yet by wise ordinances, we can (if we will but be observant) sow greatness for posterity in the body politic—324-334.]

P. 102. [1] **Themistocles** : North's Plutarch, p. 96. [3] **Censure** : Judgment, 1 *Henry VI.* ii. 3. 10. [7] **Metaphor** : *Metaphor* means 'transference'; so the words mean 'holpen a little by being transferred to politics.' For *holpen*, like *foughten*, *comen*, &c., see *Essay* xxix. l. 31. [16] **Arts and shifts** : *Essay* xxii. l. 8, 'Many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business.'

P. 103. [24] **Manage** : *To rein in*, a metaphor from horsemanship. See *Essay* vi. l. 28 : 'They were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn.' *Negotiis pares* means 'equal to their work.' [30] **Argument** : *Arguo* is (*Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 57, &c.) 'I make clear;' and hence, among other meanings, *argument* is 'that which makes clear or indicates the subject to be discussed' (as the *Argument* of a Canto in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*); hence, as here, the 'subject' itself. [31] **To the end that**, &c. : So in the *True Greatness of Britain*, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 47, 'For hence may proceed many inconsiderate attempts and insolent provocations in states that have too high an imagination of their own forces : and hence may proceed, on the other side, a toleration of many grievances and indignities, and a loss of many fair opportunities, in states that are not sensible of their own strength.' [42] **Power and forces** : Substituted for 'Greatness' (the term used in 1612), as being less ambiguous. [44] **Grain** : See the extract from Bacon's speech in 1608 quoted at the head of these notes. [54] **Stout** : Resolute, bold, 1 *Hen. IV.* v. 4. 93 ; akin to German *stolz*, bold. [55] **Courage** : From *cor*, the 'heart;' used as a neutral word here, and in 3 *Hen. VI.* ii. 2. 57, 'this soft courage makes your followers faint.' Cf. the neutral use of 'success' in the Elizabethan phrase 'ill success.'

P. 104. [56] **Virgil** : *Eclogues*, vii. 52. [61] **Answered** : North's Plutarch, p. 572. [62] **Tigranes** : North's Plutarch (*Life of Lucullus*), p. 436. [74] **Trivially** : *Tritely*, *commonly*, 'in every Prince's mouth,' as Machiavelli says below ; cf. *Essay* iii. l. 71.

[75] **Solon** : This passage is from Machiavelli's *Discourses*, book ii. 10, where a section is devoted to the refutation of 'that Apophthegm, that *Money is the sinews of war* ; which saying is now-a-days in every Prince's mouth ; but improperly, in my judgment.' [84] **All examples** : 'And if old passages be consulted and considered together with the new, it will be found that for one time in which they ever did good, there are hundreds in which they have done harm,' Machiavelli, *Discourses*, ii. 20 ; 'the title of the section being that 'No Prince or Commonwealth without manifest danger can employ foreign forces, either auxiliary or mercenary.' [86] **Mew** : 'Moult,' Lat. 'defluent' '(the feathers) will fall off.' The word is derived from Lat. *mutare* 'to change ;' and the meaning of a 'mew,' a place of confinement for hawks *mewing*, is secondary.

P. 105. [94] **Low Countries** : Mr. Wright quotes from Howell's *Fam. Lett.* sect. i., letter 6, ed. 1645 : "Nor doth any' (in Amsterdam) 'murmur at it' (the 'monstrous Accises') 'because it goes not to any favourite, or private purse, but to preserve them from the Spaniard.' [100] **Overcharged** : Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice in 1442 (*Of an Absolute and Limited Monarchy*, quoted by Taine, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* p. 97), says of the French peasants, 'The same Commons be so impoverished and distroyyd that they may unneth live. . . . For sum of them that was wonte to pay to his lord for his tenement which he hyrith by the year a scute payth now to the kyng, over that scute, fyve skuts. Wher through they be artyd by necessite so to watch, labour and grub in the ground for sustenance, that their nature is much wasted, and the kynd of them brought to nowght.' But of the English Commons he says that 'they drinke no water . . . they eat plentifully of all kindes of fleshe and fishe ; they wear fine woollen cloth in all their apparell ; . . . ' and the reason is because 'everye inhabiter of the realme of England useth and enjoyeth at his pleasure all the frutes that his land or cattel beareth, . . . not hindered by the iniurie or wrong deteinement of anye man, but that hee shall bee allowed a reasonable recompence.' [107] **Staddles** : Young trees left standing in a plantation after the removal of the underwood. [117] **In regard, &c.** : But the internal discords of France supply another reason. [121] **The history of his life** : The following is the passage referred to, quoted by Mr. Wright from the Edition of 1622 :—'*Inlosures* at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arrable Land (which could not be

manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few *Heards-men*; and Tenancies for *Yeares*, *Liues*, and *At Will* (whereupon much of the *Yeomanrie* liued) were turned into *Demesnes*. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of *Townes*, *Churches*, *Tithes*, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withall vpon this a decay and diminution of *Subsidies* and *Taxes*; for the more *Gentlemen*, euer the lower Bookes of *Subsidies*. In remedying of this inconuenience, the Kings Wisdome was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Inclosures* they would not forbid, for that had beene to forbid the improuement of the *Patrimoine* of the Kingdome; nor *Tillage* they would not compell, for that was to striue with Nature and Vtilitie. But they tooke a course to take away depopulating *Inclosures*, and depopulating *Pasturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expresse *Prohibition*, but by consequence. The *Ordinance* was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were used with twentie Acres of Ground, and vpwards, should bee maintained and kept vp for euer; together with a competent Proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them*; and in no wise to be seuered from them, as by another *Statute*, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This vpon Forfeiture to be taken, not by way of Popular *Action*, but by seizure of the Land it selfe, by the King and Lords of the *Fee* as to halfe the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this meanes the Houses being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce a *Dweller*; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce that *Dweller* not to be a Begger or *Cottager*, but a man of some substance, that might keepe Hiends and Seruantes, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concerne the *Might* and *Magnner-hood* of the Kingdome, to haue *Fermes*, as it were of a *Standerd*, sufficient to maintaine an able Body out of Penurie, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdome vnto the Hold and Occupation of the *Yeomanrie* or *Middle-People*, of a Condition betweene *Gentlemen*, and *Cottagers*, or *Pesants*. See note on Pasturages in *Essay* xv. l. 156. The ordinances referred to are the statutes 4 Henry VII. cc. 16. 19. They were re-enacted and extended in Henry VIII.'s time, but proved wholly ineffectual. The growth of large *Estates* and the conversion of arable into pasture land were due partly to the abolition of feudal services (which destroyed the

interest of the lords in the continuance of the yeoman class), partly to the foreign demand for wool (which made the large enclosed pasture lands more profitable than the old three-field system). There was still enough land under the plough for purposes of food; wheat continued to be cheap; and at the time when Bacon wrote, one-third of the land of England was still copyhold (according to Lord Coke).

P. 106. [126] **Hirelings**: Sir John Fortescue (*Taine*, vol. i. 98) says that in England 'so small a thorpe cannot bee founde wherein dwelleth not a knight, an esquire, or such a householder as is there commonly called a franklayne, enryched with greate possessions. And also other freeholders and many yeomen.' And again, 'The might of the realme most standyth upon archers which be not rich men.' [128] **Terra**, &c.: 'A land powerful in arms and in fertility of soil.' [142] **Tree**: Machiavelli, *Discourses*, ii. 4. 'And because all human affairs do hold some proportion and analogy with Nature, and it is impossible that a slender trunk should bear vast and ponderous branches, it is not to be expected that a small commonwealth, consisting of a small number of citizens, should subdue, or at least keep and maintain, greater and more populous states than themselves; and, if it should happen that they should conquer them at any time, upon every slight accident they would be subject to lose them: like the tree, it would be too weak for its boughs, and every puff of wind apt to blow it down. And thus it fell out with Sparta.' *Sparta*: According to Herodotus (ix. 35), Tisamenus of Eli, and his brother Hegias, were the only two foreigners ever admitted to citizenship at Sparta. This statement (though not quite consistent with what he says elsewhere) illustrates the reputation of Sparta for a jealous exclusiveness. Naturalisation offended the social and religious prejudices of the Greeks. At Athens a more liberal policy was pursued, but Pericles is said to have sold into slavery 4,000 spurious pretenders to citizenship. [147] **To think**: Used indefinitely for 'as for thinking,' *Sh. Grammar*, p. 356. [151] **Nice**: Fastidious, niggardly, *Essay* ii. l. 30.; Lat. 'parci atque difficiles.' Bacon strongly advocated the naturalisation of the Scotch from motives of policy. [152] **Compass**, &c.: i.e. While they maintained their first narrow limits. For this common use of *compass*, cf. *Richard II.* iii. 4. 40.

P. 107. [161] **Jus**, &c.: 'Not only the *right of commerce*, the *right of marriage*, the *right of receiving property by will*; but

also the *right of voting*, and the *right of holding office in the state*. But in the case of communities there was generally a preliminary stage in which only the *jus Latii* (which meant *commercium* without *connubium*) was granted. [162] **Singular**: For 'single.' The word is not thus used by Shakespeare; but Nares quotes from Holinshed, 'they agreed to fight *singularly*, man by man.' [165] **Roman**: The Roman *colony* was not a matter of private adventure, but an undertaking of the State; and the government of each colony was modelled on that of Rome. But in so far as they were intended to drain off the surplus population of the city, or to provide homes for the soldiery (the main objects of Roman colonization after the time of the Gracchi), Roman colonies were often expensive failures. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27. 31. [171] **Contain**: Keep together, see *Essay* iii. ¶ 2; Lat. 'frænare,' *bridle*. Cf. *continents*, used of the banks that keep in or restrain rivers, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 92. [178] **Highest commands**: See Mr. Spedding's note in *Works*, vol. i. p. 797: 'Bourbon, Prosper Colonna, Pescara, Egmont, Castaldo, Parma, Piccolomini, Spinola. Of these, however, one or two might almost be called Spaniards; and it must be remembered that the dominions both of Charles V. and his successors extended beyond the natural limits of the Spanish monarchy.' [180] **Pragmatical sanction**: *Works*, vol. i. p. 798, note: 'Soon after the accession of Philip the Fourth, a royal decree on Pragmatica was published' (some time in the summer of 1622 A.D.) 'which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children.' On the causes of the decline of Spain, see Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, ii. 326-331. [180] **Now**: Lat. 'hoc anno,' i.e. 1622 A.D., the year in which the *De Augmentis* (embodying this Essay) was published. [188] **Advantage**: Perhaps we need not understand Bacon as approving of slavery; he merely expresses his opinion that it was favourable to 'true greatness,' i.e. military power. He takes no account here of such indirect disadvantages of slavery as arise from the demoralisation of a nation. Compare Arist. *Pol.* Book i., *passim*. [190] **Rid**: Get rid of; cf. *Richard II.*, v. 4. 11.

P. 108. [195] **Contain**: Restrain. See above, l. 171. [205] **Romulus**: North's Plutarch, p. 29. 'Sent a present' is, in the Latin, *legavit*, 'bequeathed;' viz. the advice that they should intend arms. [210] **Scope**: Here, as in Greek, 'object.' [211] **Flash**: 'Moment,' Lat. 'sed non tam constans aut diuturnum.' Compare

'This action is not a *flash*, but a solid, settled pursuit,' *Life*. iv. 212. [213] **Declination** : It is characteristic of Bacon's sanguine nature, and also of his contempt for empire founded on mere savage force, that, writing but a few years after the time when the Turks had carried their terror to Vienna, he says, *Works*, vii. 24, 'There cannot but ensue a dissolution in the State of the Turk; *whereof the time seemeth to approach*.' [216] **Stood upon** : Insisted upon. To *insist* means *stand on*. [218] **Directly** : Straightforwardly, as an avowed object. [220] **Continue** : There seems a fallacy here. Many States may have perished prematurely through 'professing arms;' two or three may have prospered, not because of, but in spite of, that profession, or at all events in consequence of other causes.

P. 109. [229] **Pretended** : Such as may be 'put forward as pretexts.' *As* is perhaps used for the Relative Pronoun, as the subject of 'may be pretended.' The Lat. has 'aut saltim pretextus,' 'or at all events pretexts.' In l. 239 *pretend* to means 'claim.' [233] **Turk** : Cf. 'Mahomet's sword,' mentioned in *Essay* iii. l. 116. [234] **Quarrel** : Ground, cause. See *Essay* viii. l. 54. [241] **Politic** : Lat. 'publicis,' public; 'ministers of the State.' [242] **Prest** : Ready. Compare *Merchant of Venice*, i. 1. 160, 'Then do but say to me what I should do. . . . And I am *prest* unto it.' [250] **Tacit conformity** : The Lat. is 'propter statuum conformitatem quandam aut correspondentiam tacitam,' 'on account of a sort of conformity of States, or tacit correspondence.' From the context it would appear that two distinct objects are meant—1st, the formation of an avowed party in a foreign State, such as the Romanising party in Greece : 2nd, the establishment of some form of government, e.g. oligarchy, not avowedly, but *tacitly, conformable* to foreign influence.

P. 110. [261] **Exercise** : So, in his speech *For General Naturalisation*, in 1606, 'What is the worst effect that can follow of surcharge of people? Look into all stories, and you shall find it none other than some honourable war, . . . which inconvenience, in a valorous and warlike nation, I know not whether I should term an inconvenience or no.' *Life*, vol. iii. p. 313. In the same spirit, Æschylus, in the *Eumenides*; says : 'Let there be foreign war, and that in plenty.' Machiavelli, *Discourses*, i. 6, says : 'So on the other side it happens, when the stars are so benign to a Commonwealth as to place it in peace without any occasion of war, that

peace begets idleness, and idleness effeminacy or faction, which two things (and indeed either of them alone) will be sufficient to subvert it.' In the *Advice to the Earl of Rutland on his Travels* (which Mr. Spedding, with great probability, attributes to Bacon) *Life*, ii. p. 12. Bacon says: 'If it seem strange that I account no state flourishing but that which hath neither civil wars nor too long peace, I answer that politic bodies are like our natural bodies, and must as well have some exercise to spend their humours as to be kept from too violent or continual outrages, which spend their best spirits.' [262] **Fever**: Cf. *Works*, vi. 89, 'When the King was advertised of this new insurrection (being almost a fever that took him every year).' [267] **Still**: Always. [270] **The Law**: Lat. 'arbitrium rerum'; 'the power of arbitrating,' the supremacy. [274] **Abridgment**: i.e. 'A monarchy in miniature.' Lat. 'epitome.' [275] **Cicero**: *Letters to Atticus*, x. 8. 4, loosely quoted, 'Pompey's plan is quite Themistoclean; for he thinks that the mastery of the sea means the mastery of the war.' [281] **Actium**: Gained by Augustus over Antony, B.C. 31. [282] **Lepanto**: Fought A.D. 1571, 'which hath put a hook into the nostrils of the Ottomans to this day,' *Works*, vii, p. 19. [285] **Rest**: I have found no exact explanation of the noun 'rest,' which sometimes seems used for a 'hand at primero,' sometimes for a 'stake.' But to 'set up one's rest' was a common expression for 'standing' upon one's cards. Hence it means 'taking one's chance,' 'risking everything.' [293] **Merely**: entirely; see *Essay* iii. l. 70.

P. III. [305] **Trophies**: Trophies were erected on the field of battle, commonly by the Greeks, rarely by the Romans. [307] **Personal**: Lat. 'singulis concessæ,' i.e. 'granted to single persons.' Crowns were given by the Romans to soldiers that saved the lives of fellow-soldiers, or first mounted the wall of a besieged town, or the rampart of a camp. [308] **Emperor**: It was usual for the Roman soldiers after a victory to salute their general with the title of 'imperator' or 'Emperor,' and Bacon seems to be referring to this custom. [312] **That of the Triumph**: Lat. *mos ille triumphandi*, 'that custom of the triumph.' Perhaps some word like 'custom' may have dropped out. *Triumph* refers to the triumphal procession of the victorious general. [313] **Gaudery**: 'Finery,' used in bad sense, see Nares; from Lat. *gaudere*, 'to rejoice.' [316] **Donatives**: The word *donativum*

was regularly used (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 19; Suet. *Nero*, 7) of special donations made by the emperors to the soldiers. Hence it would appear that in *Essay* xix. l. 163, Bacon objects to *habitual*, not to *special* 'donatives.' [327] **Model**: Plan. See *Essay* iii. l. 75. The 'little model' is antithetical to the 'great frame;' and 'model' here means a plan or frame on a small scale. The 'of' is appositional, as in the 'name of George;' so the meaning is 'man's body, *which is* a model, or miniature plan, of a great state.'

XXX

Of Regiment of Health

Ll. 13-20; 22-30 are not found in the Edition of 1612.

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

FOR.

1. Anxiety about health keeps the mind too low as if it were a suitor to the body.
2. A healthy body is the soul's host; a sick body is the soul's jailor.
3. Good health is the best forwarder of actions; but weak health keeps holiday too much.

AGAINST.

1. Every recovery from illness is a fresh youth.
2. Ill-health is a very serviceable excuse, which we are glad to use even when well.
3. Health unites body and soul somewhat too closely.
4. The couch and litter have ere now swayed great empires and great armies.

[The best physic is the observation of what harms, and, still more, of what benefits one's health, and a gradual change of habits to suit the changes of age, 1-20. Pursue pleasure, but in moderation; use physic, but rarely; trusting rather to diet, 20-36. Cherish nature, but so as to strengthen, not weaken it, 37-49. Choose a physician that knows his art, but also knows your constitution and nature, 49-58.]

P. I. [8] **Owing**: I should explain this word, not as in *Sh. Grammar*, 372, but as an abridgment of 'in-owing,' like 'a-build-ing;' and in the same way, *All's Well*, i. 3. 107.

P. 2. [12] **State**: Machiavelli, *Discourses* i. 26, has a section with the title 'A new Prince in a new conquest is to make everything new.' [19] **Particularly**: i.e. In thy particular; for thee individually. [22] **Of long lasting**: Lat. 'Ad prolongandam vitam,' 'for prolonging life.' [34] **Diet**: Bacon was of feeble constitution, often medicining and dieting himself. See, as one instance, *Life*, vii. 213. 'That which I fear most is lest continual attendance and business, together with these cares and want of time to do my weak body right this spring by *diet and physic*, will cast me down.' Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii. 1-25. [38] **Of**: About.

P. 3. [41] **Tendering**: 'Tender' is not only 'to offer,' but also to 'regard' with kindness'; and it seems here used for 'careful nursing.' Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 4. 145. [41] **Celsus**: A writer on medicine, supposed to have lived under Augustus or Tiberius. [49] **Masteries**: 'Taught to gain the mastery over disease.' The Lat. has 'robur acquirit,' 'will acquire strength.' In Chaucer's *Prologue*, l. 165, the word is used for 'excellence,' from 'the French phrase *pour la maistrie*, which in old medical books is applied to such medicines as we usually call sovereign, excellent above all others,' Tyrwhitt.

XXXI

Of Suspicion

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

FOR.

AGAINST.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Distrust makes the sinews of Prudence; but suspicion is a medicine for the joints. | 1. Suspicion gives honour its discharge. |
| 2. The man whose faith can be shaken by suspicion, may be deservedly suspected. | 2. Immoderate suspicion is a kind of civil madness. ¹ |
| 3. Suspicion loosens weak faith, but strengthens strong faith. | |

¹ A 'Civil shrift' means a 'non-clerical shrift,' *Essay* xxvii. l. 39; and so a 'civil madness' means a 'non-medical madness.'

[Suspicion should be repressed, for it interferes with business even in the bravest, much more in the timid, 1-14. Instead of *suspecting* that men are base, *know* that they are weak; and provide for your safety by acting on that knowledge, 14-26. Suspicions are worst when artificially nourished. They are best removed by frankness, except when you suspect base people, who will take the avowal of your suspicion as a licence to be no longer faithful, 26-40.]

P. 4. [3] **Guarded**: Not guarded against, but kept in custody. Suspicions are to be crushed, or, if allowed to live, yet to be kept from breaking out. [4] **Check with**: Interfere with; a metaphor from falconry, see *Essay* x. l. 54. [5] **Currently**, &c.: Smoothly and continuously. [8] **The Heart**: The *heart* seems used here as the seat of *courage*, which word is itself derived from 'cor,' the 'heart.' Cf. 'men of heart,' *Coriolanus*, v. 6. 99; cf. also the name *Mr. Great-heart* in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the word *dishearten*. [12] **Hurt**: Cf. *Works*, vi. 243, 'He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them.' [17] **To keep**: Probably '(to) keep' depends on 'should;' and 'to' is added for connection. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 416.

P. 5. [36] **Would not**: See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 331. [39] **Passport**: In Lat. 'missionem daret,' 'should discharge;' and so the word is used of discharged soldiers in *Henry V.*, iv. 3. 36: 'Let him depart, his *passport* shall be made.'

XXXII

Of Discourse

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 20-23; 32-38; 51-58.

[In conversation judgment surpasses readiness. Avoid sameness, and study the art of changing the subject so as to call out conversation in others, 1-16. Let jests be in season, and not bitter. Questioning instructs the questioner, and, if not captious, pleases the answerer; but let no one answerer engross the conversation, 16-37. Reputation for knowledge is sometimes gained by dissembling knowledge: speak rarely of yourself: be sparing in personalities. Apt speech is better than fine speech. Aim at readiness in debate as well as depth in speech, and hit the mean between bluntness and tediousness, 38-69.]

P. 6. [2] **Wit** : Lat. 'ingenii,' 'native ability;' see *Essay* i. 6. [7] **When**, &c. : i.e. When it has become notorious (Lat. 'notam subierit'), so that people watch for your stock anecdotes and jokes. [9] **Occasion** : Lat. 'præbere ansam sermonis,' 'to give the handle for, i.e. to suggest, discourse.' [9] **Honourablest** : *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 9. [10] **Moderate** : To be the 'moderator' or controller, setting bounds (Lat. *modus*) to the conversation. See *Essay* xxv. l. 34.

P. 7. [13] **Present occasion**, &c. : i.e. speech about matters of mere temporary interest is to be interchanged with arguments of general and permanent interest. [16] **Jade** : Used as a verb by Shakespeare, but rather in the sense of 'spurning' than in the sense it has here, viz., 'over-riding,' 'working a topic to death.' The *now* implies that this use of the word was new-fashioned; see *Essay* xxii. l. 93. [22] **Would** : *Sh. Grammar*, 331. [23] **Parce** : David, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 127, 'Spare the whip, boy, and tug harder at the reins.' [26] **He** : *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 242. [28] **Content** : i.e. Please others; Lat. 'placebit.' [33] **Poser** : One who *opposes* or *poses* questions; see *Essay* xxii. l. 70; Lat. 'examinatori.' [38] **Galliards** : Much like our 'horn-pipes'; a lively French dance, introduced about 1541 (Nares).

P. 8. [40] **You shall be thought** : Bacon apparently considers it an advantage to have credit for knowledge that one does not possess. The same spirit appears in 'the ordering of bills to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad,' *Essay* xxviii. l. 9. The argument is, 'If you pretend not to know what you are supposed to know, then, though you may fall for the time in estimation, yet afterwards, when people find out that after all you did know it, they will not believe you when you hereafter truthfully protest ignorance.' [49] **Touch** : The verb *touch* is used by Shakespeare; cf. 'touching on delicate subjects,' *Richard III.* iii. 5. 93, iii. 7. 4; and hence the noun is here used in a corresponding sense. [60] **Agreeably** : Not 'pleasantly,' but 'in such a style as *agrees with* or suits his understanding.' Lat. 'apte loqui et accommodate,' to 'speak fitly and suitably.'

P. 9. [67] **Hare** : Cf. *Works*, iii. 394, 'Though the difference be good which was made between orators and sophisters, that the one is as the greyhound, which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare, which hath her advantage in the turn.'

[68] **Circumstance**: 'The *accompaniment* of something;' here, 'the *accompaniment* of a statement,' and therefore 'preface,' 'introduction.' Compare *Hamlet*, i. 5. 127: 'And so without more *circumstance* at all, I hold it fit that we shake hands and part.'

XXXIII.

Of Plantations

[Colonies—which are among the heroical works of antiquity—should be planted in unpeopled lands, not for immediate profit, nor from the dregs of the people, 1-27. For victuals, beside the native fruits, the colonists should take with them such seeds as bring quick crops (till corn can be cultivated) and animals that breed fast. The land and its produce should be at first mostly in common. Then develop, but not prematurely, the products of the country, especially iron, but do not give too much time to mining, 27-69. The best government is a governor with a council of nobility, executing limited martial law. Do not tax nor over-people a colony. Consult health in building and victualling. Be just as well as conciliatory to the savages, who should be led to imitate the mother-country. In due time women should be sent to the colony, which, once on foot, should never be forsaken, 69-113.]

P. 10. [13] **Hasty**, &c: See Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 410: 'This unfortunate result was in a great measure imputable to the misconduct of the colonists themselves. Most of them were adventurers, who had embarked with no other expectation than that of getting together a fortune as speedily as possible.' See also Bacon's speech to the new Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 1617 A.D., *Life*, vi. 206: 'And take this from me, that the bane of a plantation is when the undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for times to come.'

P. 11. [22] **Certify**: The word is used, as here, without any technical meaning, in *Richard III.* ii. 10, &c. [32] **Esulent**: It is not easy to see why Bacon inserts this word unless he desires to distinguish between *esulent* vegetables and the *victual*, above-mentioned, of wild fruits. [35] **For**: Used for 'as for.' [46] **Expended**: Prescott, vol. ii. p. 411: 'In order to avoid the famine which menaced his little colony, Columbus was obliged to resort to coercive measures, shortening the allowance of food.'

chain, of course, means 'fixed.' [49] **And** : Connects 'common' 1 'to be laid in.' [52] **Private** : Here a Noun. Compare *velveth Night*, iii. 4. 100 : 'Let me enjoy my *private*.'

'P. 12. [57] **Tobacco** : Mr. Wright quotes the following question put by the Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia : 'What conceive you should be the cause, though the country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco.' [60] **Brave** : 'Fine ;' used of things, *Tempest*, iii. 2. 104. [62] **Would** : *Sh. Grammar*, ar. 331. [62] **Climate** : The Lat. 'making bay-salt by means of the heat of the sun, if the region allows it.' Climate is used for a country, in *Julius Cæsar*, i. 3. 32. [63] **Growing silk** : 2. 'Vegetable silk ;' Lat. 'vegetabile sericum.' 'Growing' is here an adjective. [68] **Mines** : See Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 411 : 'These excesses, and a total neglect of agriculture—for none would condescend to turn up the earth for any other object than the gold they could find in it—at length occasioned an alarming scarcity of provisions.' So Mr. Green, after describing Raleigh's failure (*Short History of England*, p. 491) continues : 'The first permanent settlement on the Chesapeake was effected in the beginning of the reign of James I. (1606), and its success was due to the conviction of the settlers that the secret of the New World's conquest lay simply in labour. Among the hundred and five colonists who originally landed, forty-eight were gentlemen, and only twelve were tillers of the soil. Their leader, John Smith, however, held the little company together till the colonists had learnt the lesson of soil. In his letter to the colonizers at home he set resolutely aside the dream of gold. "Nothing is to be expected thence," he wrote of the new country, "but by labour."' [70] **One** : 'In the first year of his reign, Charles, on the ground that such a colony was not best managed by an incorporated company' consisting of a multitude of persons of various dispositions, amongst whom affairs of the greatest moment are ruled by a majority of votes,' ordained by a proclamation that the government of Virginia should henceforth depend immediately upon himself, and be administered by a governor and resident council appointed by the crown.' Knight's *Pict. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 539. [73] **That—as** : 'Of such a kind . . . that.' The 'wilderness,' the traditional abode of hermits, ought, Bacon says, to encourage in the colonists a spirit of dependence on God. [76] **Undertakers** : Contractors. [78] **Noblemen** : But (Prescott, ii. 411) 'the cavaliers and hidalgos, of whom there were too

many in the expedition, contemned him (Columbus) as an upstart, whom it was derogatory to obey.' Against this set Mr. Green's note on l. 68 above. [80] **Freedom from custom**: Prescott, vol. ii. p. 435: 'Emigration to the new countries was encouraged by the liberal tenor of the royal ordinances passed from time to time. The settlers in Hispaniola were to have their passage free; to be excused from taxes; and they were furnished with a gratuitous supply of grain and stock for their farms. *All exports and imports were exempted from duty; a striking contrast to the narrow policy of later ages.*

P. 83. [94] **Still**: Always. [100] **Gingles**: Jingles, rattles. [103] **But**, &c.: 'But as regards defending them, in order to secure their favour, that is not amiss.' [111] **Destitute**: A Latinism for 'desert.' Bacon perhaps has in his mind the fate of Raleigh's colony in Virginia. 'No further attempt was made to relieve the unhappy colonists of Virginia, who, men, women, and children, to the number of nearly a hundred and twenty, that had been left by White, must all speedily have perished of want, if they were not destroyed by the tomahawks of the barbarous aborigines upon whose wilderness they had intruded.' Knight's *Pict. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 792. 'It is through the gratitude of later times for what he strove to do, rather than for what he did, that Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, preserves his name.' Green, *Short History*, &c., p. 491.

XXXIV

Of Riches

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 30-102, 'hearken—believe.'

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

FOR.

1. Riches are despised by none but those that despair of them.

AGAINST.

1. Great riches bring with them guardianship, or stewardship, or reputation, but no substantial use.

2. It is envy of riches that has made virtue into a goddess.
2. Do not you see how fancy prices are set on gems and such like rarities, and all to make some artificial use for great riches.
3. While philosophers are doubting whether virtue or pleasure is to be the object of existence, be wise and lay in stores for both.
3. While many people have supposed they could buy everything with their riches, they have been the first to sell themselves.
4. It is by riches that virtue is made a communicable blessing.
4. I can call riches nothing else but the baggage of Virtue: for Virtue finds them at once necessary and burdensome.
5. All other blessings have their single provinces, riches alone may claim the whole realm of life.
5. Riches make a good handmaid, but the worst of mistresses.

[Riches are the baggage of Virtue. Great riches may be distributed by the owner, but not enjoyed by him, 1-23. Seek riches by just means for good ends; from Jupiter, not from Pluto, meaning Death—still less from Pluto, meaning the Devil, 24-41. Among the few honest ways to wealth, agriculture surpasses parsimony, and, though mostly slow, is not slow when practised on a large scale, 41-61. Other ways are diligence, a good name, artful bargainings, partnerships, usury, discoveries, monopolies, adventures mixed with certainties, engrossing and reselling, servility, and legacy-hunting, 62-101. Trust not those that affect to despise wealth; be not penny-wise; bequeath your wealth with judgment; and defer not charities till death, 102-119.]

P. 14. [8] **Conceit**: Imagination, conception. Like 'courage,' (*Essay* xxix. l. 55) *conceit* had a broader meaning in Elizabethan language than in ours. [8] **Salomon**: *Ecc.* v. 11. [13] **Dole**: Lat. 'distributionis.' The word is connected with 'deal' meaning a part; and 'dole out' means 'deal out.' [15] **Stones**: This argument is condensed from the *Utopia* (Arber's reprint), p. 111. The Utopians deck their children with pearls, diamonds, and carbuncles. *Id.* 101. [16] **Because**, &c.: i.e. 'In order that there might seem.' [19] **Salomon**: *Prov.* xviii. 11.

¹ Read 'venierunt' for 'venerunt.'

P. 15. [24] **Proud**: So large as to be useless except for pride and ostentation. The Latin has 'magnas divitias.' [36]

Abstract: 'Withdrawn from practical life,' hermit-like; Lat. 'a seculo abstracti.' We still speak of 'a fit of abstraction' in

this sense. [27] **Cicero**: *Pro Rabirio*, ii. [31] **Qui**, &c. *Prov.* xxviii. 20. [38] **Mought**: See *Essay* xlii. 1. 31. [41]

Upon: Here used like 'on' in 'on a moderate pace,' *Twelfth Night*, ii. 2. 3; *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 180.

P. 16. [56] **Himself**: Refers to the speaker 'one.' The 'self' is added to prevent the reader from confusing 'him' with the 'nobleman' in the previous sentence. The Latin makes this

clear. [58] **Expect**: Wait for; Lat. 'præstolari.' [58] **Over-**

come: To make oneself capable of a task may be called *mastering* or *overcoming* it. And so a man may be said to 'bvercome a bargain or contract'; Lat. 'superare contractus.' [66] **Broke**:

Germ. *brauchen*, to use; hence, to do business. [68] **Chap-**
men: To *chap* or *chop* (see 1. 70, also *Essay* lvi. 1. 85) was to exchange; Germ. *kaufen*. Hence *chapmen* means buyers. [69]

Naughty: Worth *naught*, worthless. [71] **Grindeth**: The Lat. has 'pressing hard on both the seller and the buyer,' i.e.

pressing on the man that sells to, and on the man that buys from, the reseller. [74] **Certainest**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 9. [75]

In sudore, &c.: 'In the sweat of another's brow.' For the prevalent aversion to usury see *Life*, vol. vii. p. 413, where Mr.

Spedding quotes an Act of Edward VI.: 'Usury is by the Word of God utterly prohibited, as a vice most odious and detestable, as

in divers places of the Holy Scripture it is evident to be seen.' See also *Essay* xlii. on Usury. [77] **Flaws**: Weak points; Lat.

'chinks.' [78] **Value**: Exaggerate their fortunes; Lat. 'extol-

lent.' [80] **Invention**: We should rather use 'discovery.' Privilege is perhaps distinguished from monopolies below, and

refers to privileged foreign trade. [83] **Canaries**: Sugar was introduced into the Canaries in 1507, and soon formed an impor-

tant part of Bristol trade. [83] **Logician**: Bacon assigns four Arts to Logic, those of Invention, Judging, Retaining, and Trans-

mitting, *Works*, iv. 407. [90] **Monopolies**: Sir Walter Raleigh had a faculty to license taverns and the sale of wines; another

man that of exporting ashes and old shoes. *Knight, Pict. Hist.* iii. 5. Many monopolies were revoked by Elizabeth, and they were declared illegal under James I.

P. 17. [95] **Rise**: 'Though it be of the best rise,' is rendered in the Latin translation, 'dignitatem quandam habet,' i.e. 'though it have a certain dignity.' And after 'service' the Latin inserts 'Regum aut Magnatum,' 'of kings or nobles.' It therefore appears to refer to 'the getting of riches,' implied in the preceding words. [97] **They**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 242. [98] **Fishing**, &c.: See Introduction, p. 11. [99] **Tacitus**: *Annals*, xii. 42. But, in that chapter, it is not Tacitus, but one of Seneca's enemies, that brings this accusation. [101] **The better**: *The* would appear to mean 'established all the better,' i.e. *by so much* better than usual, to meet the attacks of 'the birds of prey.' *The* is the old Ablative of the Demonstrative Pronoun, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 94. [112] **Glorious**: Boastful, ostentatious. This is illustrated by Bacon's *Advice to the King touching Sutton's Estate* (Sutton was the founder of the Charterhouse Hospital and School), *Life*, vol. 4, p. 249: 'This act of Mr. Sutton . . . seemeth to me as a sacrifice without salt, having the materials of a good intention, but not powdered with any such ordinances and institutions as may preserve the same from turning corrupt.' The word *glorious* may be illustrated by the following extract: 'For to design the Charterhouse—a building fit for a Prince's habitation—for an hospital, is all one as if one should give in alms a rich embroidered cloak to a beggar.' *Ib.* p. 249. [115] **Advancements**: Lat. 'dona tua,' 'thy gifts.' Perhaps Bacon regards gifts and charities as 'advancements' to the recipients. But the use of the word seems uncommon. [116] **Measure**: i.e. Due measure; so the Latin.

XXXV

Of Prophecies

[Our subject is unexplained prophecies of historical certainty, of which there are many examples, 1-62. They ought all to be despised (except for their political results), 1st, as being noted when they prove true, and forgotten when they prove false; 2nd, as being often mere probable conjectures; 3rd, as being forgeries, 62-86.]

P. 18. [2] **Natural** : i.e. Made naturally from sufficient data. [4] **Pythonissa** : 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 19. In *Acts* xvi. 16, a girl is said to have had 'a *python* spirit.' A ventriloquist, if a man, was called a *python* ; if a woman, a *pythonissa*. And here Bacon follows the Vulgate in transferring the name to the witch mentioned in the Old Testament. The *Python* was a serpent slain by Apollo, the god of divination, who was said to have thence derived the name of *Pythius*, applied to diviners, as being the ministers of Apollo. [6] **Homer** : Bacon (using 'at' for 'hic') quotes *Æneid*, iii. 97, where Virgil adapts a narrower prophecy in the *Iliad*, xx. 307-8 : 'But now, indeed, the mighty *Æneas* shall reign over the *Trojans*, he and his children's children, whosoever shall arise after him.' [7] **Seneca** : *Med.* ii. 374-8 (W.) : 'In far-off years there shall come the ages when ocean shall loosen the bounds of the world, and the huge earth shall lie revealed, and Tiphys shall disclose new worlds ; and Thule shall no longer be the limit of all lands.'

P. 19. [18] **Phantasm** : 'He saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him. . . . The Spirit answered him, '*I am thy evil Spirit, Brutus : and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes.*' North's Plutarch, p. 830. [19] **Tiberius** : Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 20 : 'Thou too, Galba, shalt have thy taste of empire.' [24] **Tacitus** : *Histories*, v. 13. [24] **Dreamed** : Suetonius, *Domitian*, 33. [28] **Henry VI.** : The story is told by Holinshed, and is introduced by Shakespeare, 3 *Henry VI.* iv. 6. 68. [37] **Slain** : Henry II. of France was accidentally killed at a tournament in 1559 A.D. [38] **Trivial** : Common ; see *Essay* iii. l. 72.

P. 20. [49] **Baugh** : Mr. Wright has the following note : 'Mr. Daniel has suggested to me that the 'Baugh' is probably the Bass rock ; and the 'May,' the Isle of May, in the Frith of Forth. Compare *The Complaynt* of Sir D. Lyndsay (*Works*, i. 277, Ed. Chalmers) : 'Quhen the *Bas* and the *Ile* of *May* beis set upon the Mont Sinay.' [53] **Regiomontanus** : Johannes Müller, so called from Königsberg, the place of his birth. The date of the prophecy was A.D. 1475 ; it has been more than once altered and applied to various events. See Mr. Wright's note. [57] **Cleon's dream** : It would almost seem that Bacon was really not certain that this dream 'was a jest,' and is not speaking ironically. [68] **Laws** : Bacon was ready to enforce these laws. In his *Charge on opening the Court of the Verge* in 1611, he says, *Life*, vol. iv. 271 : 'Lastly

because the vulgar people are sometimes led with vain and fond prophecies; if any such shall be published to the end to move stirs or tumults, this is not felony, but punished by a year's imprisonment and loss of goods. And of this you shall enquire.'

P. 21. [71] **Never**, &c. : This error is one of the *Idols of the Tribe*. Compare *Works*, vol. iv. 432 : 'The nature of the human is more affected by affirmatives and actives than by negatives and privatives; whereas by right it should be indifferently disposed towards both. But now, a few times hitting or presence produces a much stronger impression on the mind than many times failing or absence; a thing which is the root of all vain superstition and credulity. And therefore it was well answered by one who, when the table was shown to him hanging in a temple, of such as had paid their vows upon escape from shipwreck, and he was pressed to say whether he did not now acknowledge the power of Neptune, "Yea," asked he in return, "but where are they painted that were drowned after paying their vows?" And so it is in similar superstitions, as astrology, dreams, omens, and the like.' [73] **Obscure traditions** : Compare the curious dispute about the prediction in Thucydides, ii. 54 : 'A Doric war shall come, and therewith plague (*loimos*.) There arose therefore a dispute, some contending that the old people had repeated the verse with famine (*limos*), not plague (*loimos*). But by force of circumstances, *loimos* naturally gained the day; for men regulated their memories by their present sufferings. But I venture to say that if another Doric war ever comes with a famine (*limos*), then famine (*limos*) will be the new reading.' [76] **Collect** : 'Gather,' 'infer.' This is a Latin use of the word, 'to put together propositions so as to derive inferences.' [81] **Atlantius** : Bacon refers to the *Critias*, which in Cornarius' Latin translation is called 'Critias sive Atlantius' (W.). See *Critias* p. 113; *Timæus*, p. 25; *Works*, iii. 141, note. Bacon makes the Governor of the *New Atlantis* say that though Plato's description is fabulous, yet it is true that the Great Atlantis, i.e. America, was for a time submerged, *Works*, iii. 142.

XXXVI

Of Ambition

The Edition of 1612 omits ll. 18-56.

[Ambitious men, when checked, become malignant, and therefore should not be used by Princes, except of necessity, as in war, or invidious or dangerous service, 1-31. If used, they will be less dangerous, when of mean birth, when checked by favourites, when balanced by other ambitious men, or when assailed by meaner men. To keep them in fear is less safe than to keep them in perplexity, 32-56. Ambition when meddlesome, mars business, but is less dangerous than when powerful; envious ambition is the decay of a whole age. Princes should distinguish honest from dishonest ambition, 57-75]

P. 22. [1] **Choler**: One of the four *humours* (i.e. moistures) supposed to make up human dispositions, viz., (1) blood, (2) phlegm; (3) choler (i.e. bile, Gr. *χολή*); (4) melancholy (i.e. black bile, Gr. *μελαγχολία*). [4] **His**: For *its*; *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 228. [4] **Adust**: A technical word of medicine. See Nares: 'They be sanguine, something *adust*. And those men are very impatient and prone to anger.' Celsus and Pliny use *adustus* medically as well as in the literal sense of 'scorched.' [6] **They**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 242. [13] **So as**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 109, 275. [13] **Still**: Always.

P. 23. [21] **Never**: This is an abbreviation of the full idiom, 'though they be so ambitious as *never* before.' The modern idiom appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the old negative. [22] **Dispenseth with**: *Dispense* meant (1) to 'manage,' and sometimes to 'manage frugally'; hence 'to be sparing with,' or 'spare'; hence to 'spare' a penalty, or an offender. Hence to 'pardon,' as here. 'The use (i.e. utility) of their service *dispenseth with* (pardons) the rest of their faults.' Compare *Comedy of Errors*, ii. 1. 103: 'Unfeeling fools can with such wrongs *dispense*.' Hence the term, *dispensing* power, applied to the prerogative in virtue of which James II. wished to *dispense* with the tests to which Romanists and Dissenters were subjected. [24] **Spurs**: Cf. Milton's *Lycidas*, l. 703, 'Fame is the *spur* that the clear spirit doth raise.' [27] **Seeled**: To *seel* was 'to close the eyelids partially or entirely by passing a fine thread through them, *siller* Fr. . . . It was a common notion that, if a dove was let

loose with its eyes so closed, it would fly straight upwards, continuing to mount till it fell down through mere exhaustion, Nares. [30] **Macro**: Dio Cassius, viii. 9. (W.) [39] **Favourites**: This sentence is part of the passage not found in the Ed. of 1612. It seems to point to Buckingham. [47] **Inure**: To habituate, put 'in ure,' i.e. in use. *Ure* is derived through the Fr. from Lat. 'usura.' See *Essay* vi. l. 87. [49] **Obnoxious**: 'Liable'; a Latin usage. [50] **Stout**: Bold; see *Essay* xxix. l. 54. [52] **The**: 'The affairs of the moment.' [53] **That**: Inserted for connection, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 285. [56] **Wood**: i.e. a maze. So used in the old proverb, 'Do not holloa till you are out of the wood,' and perhaps in 'wood within this wood,' *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 192.

P. 24. [61] **Dependances**: Lat. 'clientelis,' retainers, followers, &c. [74] **Bravery**: Boastfulness.

XXXVII

Of Masques and Triumphs

[Study elegance, not the show of cost; pleasure not petty and sensational, but natural and simple, and broad effects both of music and colour, 1-34. Let masques be tasteful and quaint, neither too serious nor too hideous; with strangely-varied music and bursts of perfume; but above all, order and neatness. Tourneys now-a-days interest not by the fighting, but by the trappings of the challengers, 34-57.]

P. 25. [6] **Aloft**: In the gallery at the end of the hall. [7] **Broken**: Music described as 'in parts' (*Troilus and Cressida*; iii. 1. 52) is afterwards (*Ib.* 43) called 'broken music.' The ditty is to be fitted to the device or figure of the dance. [10] **Vulgar**: Bacon has just approved of 'dancing to song;' but he is now speaking of dancing where the dancer accompanies himself with song or music. [11] **Would**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 331. [12] **No Treble**: Had there been a treble, it would have been the treble of boys, not of women, which perhaps may account for Bacon's rejection of the treble. See l. 29, 'not chirpings or pulings.' [15] **Turning**, &c.: This seems to mean making dances of complicated figures, such as our modern 'Lancers.' But, *a priori*,

such dances, combining unity with multiplicity of motion, ought to have pleased Bacon better than 'galliards.'

P. 26. [27] **To desire**, &c. : In other words, something is to be left to the imagination; and completeness is to be avoided.

[28] **Loud** : Bacon's love for definite effects in music and colour (which comes out clearly in this *Essay*) is avowed by him in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, *Life*, vol. I. p. 357 : 'In music I ever loved easy airs, that go full, all the parts together; and not these strange points of accord and discord.' [32] **Oes** : The pl. of 'O,' used of any circular spot; cf. *Ant.* v. 2. 81; *Midsummer Night's Dream*,

iii. 2. 188. [37] **Antimasque** : Generally explained as a comic mask used *a foil to (anti-)* the principal performance. But it would appear from Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph* that the *Antimasque* was generally expected to *precede* the principal Masque. It seems, therefore, on the whole more probable that, as in *Antecamera* (spelt

Anticamera in the original), *Essay* xlv. l. 126, so here, *anti* is used for *ante*, and the word means an 'introductory mask.' The derivation 'antickmasque' seems based upon a casual joke put into the mouth of a punster. (See Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*.)

[39] **Antiques** : From Lat. 'antiquus,' 'ancient.' Hence, 1st, 'old-fashioned'; and, 'ridiculous'; 3rd, a 'clown.' Cf. *Richard II.* iii. 2. 162. [40] **Turquets** : Perhaps Turkish dwarfs. [51]

Barriers : 'To fight at barriers; to fight within lists. This kind of contest is sometimes simply called *barriers*.' Nares. The barrier was a boarded railing in the midst of the lists. The combatants jousted parallel to the barrier and on separate sides of it, so that the horses might not meet. See Strutt. [51] **Justs** : From Lat. *juxta*, together; so called from the meeting *together* of the two combatants. [51] **Tourneys** : Probably from Lat. *tornare*, 'to turn'; so called from the skill consisting partly in the *turning* of the horse. In the *just* there were but two combatants, in the *tournament* several. See Strutt.

P. 27. [55] **Bravery** : Fine show. *Tournies* had long ceased to be anything but expensive shows. Nares quotes from Taylor, 1630 :—

In revels, *justs*, and *tournies*, he spent more
Than five of his forefathers did before.

XXXVIII

Of Nature in Men

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 33-40; 53-55.
The *Antitheta* on Nature are as follows:—

FOR.

1. In custom we have Arithmetical, in nature, Geometrical progression.
2. As common laws are to customs in states, so nature is to custom in individuals.
3. Custom, when opposed to nature, is a kind of despotism: soon and lightly overthrown.

AGAINST.

1. We think according to nature, we speak according to instruction; but we act according to custom.
2. Nature is a bookish school-master; custom a magistrate.

[Nature is never to be conquered but by custom, first by easier then by harder stages; as, first by arresting, then by diminishing, last, by discontinuing. But, if you can, it is best to straighten nature at once, or bend it to a contrary extreme, 1-25. Strengthen good habit (and weaken error) by intermission; and either banish old temptations altogether, or make them impotent by familiarity, 25-40. A man's nature is best perceived in privacy, passion, and new experiences. You need not force your nature to pleasant duties—you need to unpleasant; water the herbs, destroy the weeds, 40-53.]

P. 28. [3] **Importune**: Importunate; cf. *Essay ix.* l. 164.
[13] **Harder**: As were the reviews of the Roman soldiers.
[15] **Be**: (*To*) *be*.
P. 29. [22] **Optimus**, &c.: Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 294, 'He is the best liberator of the mind who straightway snaps the gnawing fetters from his breast, and has done with grieving.' [34] **Lay**: Bacon, like Byron, here uses 'lay' for 'lie.' Schmidt quotes but one instance of this in his *Shakespeare Lexicon*: 'And down I laid to list the sad-tuned tale! *Lover's Complaint*, 4 (some modern editions *lay*).' [43] **New**: Cf. *Essay xii.* xl. 15 [45] **Sort**: Suit; cf. *Essay vi.* l. 6. [46] **Multum**, &c.: *Psalm cxx.* 6, 'My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.' No passage from Scripture is so often quoted by Bacon as this in order to express

his sojourn in the wilderness of politics when he is pining for the promised land of philosophy. See Introduction, p. xxi. [47]

Converse : 'Live,' a Latinism ; cf. *Epist. Philip.* iii. 20.

P. 30. [51] **So as** : *Sk. Grammar*, Par. 109.

XXXIX

Of Custom and Education¹

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 25-40, 'we see—body.' For the *Antitheta* see notes on *Essay xxxviii*.

[Whatever may influence men's thoughts and sayings, it is custom alone (if we set aside the perversion of superstition) that influences their deeds, and many examples may be given of the force of custom, 1-40. Therefore good customs should be formed, chiefly in youth, which age best takes the ply, but also through the aid of well-ordained societies, which, instead of being perverted to superstitious objects, should supplement the commonwealth by amending the seeds of virtue, 40-64.]

* P. 31. [3] **Infused** : i.e. Derived from external sources. The Lat. has 'which they have imbibed.' [3] **After as** : *According as*. For the metaphorical use of the prep. 'after,' cf. 'After our iniquities.' [4] **Machiavel** ; P. 387, *Discourses*, iii. 6, 'For there is no man, how resolute and bloody soever he be, but must be surprised and discomposed in such cases as these ; wherefore, for such exploits, experienced men and such as are used to those kind of affairs are to be chosen, and no other, though never so stout.' [5] **Evil-favoured** : Ugly, see note on *Essay xliii*. 14. The connection between *favour* and *countenance* is generally illustrated by the connection between the Lat. 'vultus,' the *expression*, and 'volo,' *I wish*. [6] **Bravery** : Boastfulness. [7] **Corroborate** : A Latin form of the Pass. Part., cf. *regenerate*, &c. [7] **Custom** : Here perhaps used in the modern sense of 'a repetition of action ;' but in l. 24 and elsewhere Bacon uses the word for 'habit,' i.e. 'the state of mind consequent on custom.' [12] **Friar Clement** : Assassinated Henry III. of France in 1589 A.D. [13] **Bavallac** :

Bacon has some incidental remarks about custom in a different connection in the Second Book of the *Advancement of Learning*, Works, iii.

Assassinated Henry IV. of France in 1610 A.D. [13] **Jaupe-guy** : Attempted the life of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, in 1582 A.D. [13] **Baltazar Gerard** : Shot William the Silent in 1584 A.D. The Latin translation adds, 'aut Guidone Faulxio.' [16] **Of the first blood** : Those who are committing their first murder. The Lat. has 'primæ classis,' i.e. 'men of the first rank,' apparently a mistaken rendering. [17] **Votary** : Here an adj. meaning 'based upon a vow.' Used as a noun in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i. 1. 52.

P. 32. [26] **Sect** : The Gymnosophistæ, Cic. *Tusc.* v. 27. 78 (W.) [31] **Queching** : The Latin translator has 'vix eiulatu aut gemitu ullo,' which shows that he understood this word to mean 'groaning' or 'sobbing.' And so Montaigne, ii. 32. 415, 'Which suffered themselves to bee whipped till the blood trilled downe all partes of their body, not only without crying but also without sobbing.' But that the word means 'flinch' seems certain from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, v. 9. 33—

'Like captived thrall
With a strong yron chaine and collar bound,
That once he could not move nor *quich* at all.'

It is also spelt *queck* and is connected with *quick*, A.-S. *cwic*, 'living' or 'active,' the radical meaning being that of *motion*. [35] **Former**, &c. : The story is told of Brian O'Rourke, whose execution, however, took place not in 'the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time,' but in 1597. 'This incident is introduced into the first part of *Sir John Oldcastle*, where the Irishman appeals to the judge, "Prethee, Lord shudge, let me have mine owne clothes my strouces there, and let me bee hanged in a wyth after my country the Irish fashion."' (W.) [38] **Engaged** : Originally 'bound by a gage;' hence here, literally bound. [41] **Magistrate** : See the *Antitheta* of *Essay* xxxviii. : 'Nature is a bookish schoolmaster, custom is the magistrate;' i.e. 'nature gives us impracticable precepts; custom is our practical guide.' [49] **Ply** : A fold or bend; Lat. 'plicare,' to fold. Hence to *take the ply* means to *receive a bent shape*.

P. 33. [56] **Comforteth** : The old meaning of 'comfort' is 'strengthen' (from *con* and *fortis*). But in Shakespeare's time that meaning seems to have already fallen a little out of fashion (see *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 45), and it is here rendered in the Lat.

'releat,' i.e. 'cheers' or 'lightens.' [58] **His**: *Its*; see *Essay* xxxvi. 1, 4. [58] **Exaltation**: Means 'zenith.' The term is astrological, and custom is regarded as a planet. Hence the Lat. speaks of 'the force and *influx* (i.e. astral stream, or *influence*) of custom.' For an illustration take the influence of the training-ship 'Goliath' on its pupils. [64] **The ends, &c.**: Probably Bacon means the aggrandisement of the Roman Church, which was greatly aided by the 'societies' of the monastic orders.

XL

Of Fortune

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

FOR.

1. Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune.
2. Virtues manifested in good deeds beget praise; virtues that consist of faculties beget fortune.
3. Fortune is a kind of milky way; that is to say, a cluster of a sort of obscure and nameless virtues.
4. Fortune deserves honour, if not for her own sake, yet for the sake of her daughters, Confidence and Authority.

AGAINST.

1. One man's folly is another's fortune.
2. To my mind the best point in fortune is this: 'that as she has no choice, so she has no fixed regard.'
3. Great men have been found among the courtiers of fortune, while shrinking from the envy attaching to their virtue.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 5, 6, 'Faber—poet'; 24, 25, 'but that—fortune'; 47-49, 'So—*magnus*'; 57-61.

[Though external causes (notably the folly of others) may conduce to fortune, yet chiefly a man moulds his own fortune by certain hidden nameless little virtues, or rather faculties and customs, among which are to have
1 little of the fool and not too much of the honest, 1-35. Sudden

fortune makes men slighty, not able ; yet Fortune is to be respected for her two children, Confidence and Reputation. To ascribe one's virtues to Providence and Fortune has been the mark of wise rulers ; but if one man has found fortune smoother than another, it is much in a man's self, 8-61.]

P. 34. [1] **But** : *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 122. [5] **The Poet** : 'Mr. Markby conjectures with great probability, from a passage in the *Advancement of Learning*, ii. 24. 8, that Bacon imagined the phrase to have grown out of a verse of Plautus (*Trinummus*, ii. 2. 87) : 'Nam pol sapiens (saith the Comickall Poet), *Fingit fortunam ubi*, and it grewe to an adage, *Faber quisque fortunæ propria*' (W.) [6] **Folly**, &c. : See *Antitheta* above. [8] **Serpens** : 'Serpent must swallow serpent before it can become a Dragon.' [9] **Apparent** : Lat. 'conspicuous ;' cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iii. 1. 115. [10] **Secret**, &c. : See *Antitheta*. [11] **Deliveries** : 'To deliver' meant to convey or express one's meaning. Hence the meaning would seem to be here 'methods of expressing one's nature.' Cf. *Winter's Tale*, v. 2. 10 : 'I make a broken *delivery* of the business.' But the Lat. has 'se expediendi,' cf. the phrase '*ais-embarrassing* oneself.' [12] **Desemboltura** : '(1) A turning of oneself inside out ; (2) shamelessness ; (3) facility of speaking.' [13] **Stonds** : Stands, stops, hindrances. The word is used of Cecil, Introduction, p. xlix. [14] **That** : Probably not to be taken with 'but,' but with 'when,' and inserted for connection. The Latin is not 'quin,' but 'sed.' See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 285. [15] **Livy** : 'This great man had such strength of body as well as mind, that whatever might have been his birth, it seemed certain that he would have made fortune for himself,' xxxix. 40. [20] **Versatile**, &c. : 'A versatile nature.'

P. 35. [22] **Milken** : See *Antitheta* above. For the suffix, see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 444. [37] **Remuant** : Bacon seems to have been feeling his way to a new word, 'reprover.' In his *Promus* (*Works*, vol. vii. p. 206) he has 'remooving ; remuant,' whereby he seems to have meant that there might be found an English equivalent of the French word. [38] **Exercised** : Tried and practised in endurance ; Lat. *exercita*, cf. *Æneid*, v. 725. [40] **Daughters** : See *Antitheta* above. [43] **Wise**, &c. : This (see *Antitheta*) is an argument *against* the belief in fortune. [47] **Cæsarem** : 'You have Cæsar and Cæsar's fortune as your passengers.' North's Plutarch, p. 605. [51] **Infortunate** : A Latinism, cf. *King John*, ii. 178. See other instances in *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 442. [52]

Timotheus : North's Plutarch, p. 388, 'Timotheus . . . said, My Lords of Athens, *Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you.* Hereupon the gods, it should seeme, were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus that he never afterwards did any worthy thing ; but all went utterly against the haire with him ; until at the length he came to be so hated of the people that in the end they banished him from Athens. But Sylla, to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their words that said he was a happy man and singularly beloved of Fortune, but also increasing this opinion and glorying as at a special grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings unto Fortune, either for a vain glory, or for that he had in fancy that the gods did prosper him in all his doings.'

P. 36. [58] **Timoleon's**, &c. : North's Plutarch, p. 235, 'And like as . . . in Homer's verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight that they were easily made and without great pain, even so in like manner, whosoever will compare the painful bloody wars and battles of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with the wars of Timoleon, in the which, besides equity and justice, there is also great ease and quietness—he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they have not been Fortune's doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wisely impute it unto his good hap and favourable fortune.' [60] **Much**, &c. : Lat. 'principally rests with ourselves.' This conclusion rejects Fortune, except as a convenient make-believe for great men.

XLI

Of Usury¹

Some fault has been found with Bacon for not more openly recognising the lawfulness of usury : it has been assumed as palpable

¹ For a sketch of the history of Usury, see Grote, *Hist. Gr.* iii. 147 note. The theory of restriction was exploded by Bentham, who showed that it hampered the diffusion of money, and demoralised by the ease of evasion. His arguments led to a practical abolition of the English Usury Laws ; but they did not finally disappear till 1854.

that money may be taken for the use of money, as lawfully as for the use of anything else.

The answer is, that in ancient times money, when borrowed on usury, was for the most part borrowed, not for the systematic prosecution of commerce, but for the temporary aversion of some disastrous want. Usurers traded on the needs of desperate men; and in small states where men knew one another and felt the claims of neighbourhood, usury was felt to be a selfish encroachment upon the province of neighbourly friendship. In commercial states, such as Athens, where there was a system of foreign trade based on money-lending, usury was not invidious; but in agricultural states, and particularly in that of the ancient Israelites, the feeling was, 'if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him: take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.' The same feeling is expressed by Latimer (Sermon v., *On the Lord's Prayer*), who protests against the laws that allowed usury before the time of Edward VI.: 'Certain it is that usury was allowed by the laws of this realm: yet it followed not that usury was godly nor allowed before God. . . . For usury is wicked before God, be it small or great; like as theft is wicked.' And accordingly the Act of Henry VIII., restricting the rate of usury to 10 per cent., was repealed in 1552 by an Act of Edward VI., which declared that 'usury is by the Word of God utterly prohibited, as in divers places of the Holy Scriptures it is evident to be seen.' Under Elizabeth in 1571 the Act of Henry VIII. was revived with some restrictions. Yet even in the Act of Elizabeth (Knight, *Pict. Hist.* ii. 783) the tenor of the principal enacting clause is as follows:—'And, forasmuch as *all* usury, being forbidden by the laws of God, is sin and detestable;' and it is entitled 'An Act against Usury.' If we are warranted in drawing any inferences whatever from the works of a dramatist as to the feelings of a dramatist, then it is a certain inference from the general tenour of the *Merchant of Venice*, and in particular from Act i. Sc. 3, that the prevalent prejudice against usury was shared by Shakespeare.

Now Bacon so far extricated himself from the traditional feeling as to see that, right or wrong, usury was a necessity in England, as England was; but he held to the belief that it might be licensed and regulated, just as we still license pawnbroking and beer-

selling.¹ There are not wanting theoretical arguments to support such a plan: it may be argued that the temptation to borrow money upon exorbitant interest is often so great, and the appreciation of the rapidity of the accumulation of compound interest is often so slight, that large numbers of persons besides minors require to be by law protected from themselves. Experience seems to have shown that these arguments are outweighed by other considerations: but little blame attaches to Bacon for not having anticipated the results of this experience. A bill for the abatement of usury had been brought in, A.D. 1621, and another bill was brought in during March, A.D. 1623. Soon after the introduction of the latter Bacon wrote (March 29, 1623) a letter to Secretary Conway, saying that he had been 'looking over some short papers of his touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent and perturbation.' Three or four days afterwards he sends the Secretary 'a brief tractate of that subject.' The 'tractate' (*Life*, vii. 415) is almost identical with the present Essay.

[Men have made witty but useless invectives, and have proposed cunning remedies against usury; but since it must exist, we should minimise its disadvantages and maximise its advantages, 1-22. The disadvantages are (1) few merchants; (2) poor merchants; (3) reduced customs; (4) wealth in few hands; (5) cheap land; (6) the ruin of men's estates. The advantages are:—(1) encouragement of young merchants; (2) relief of necessities without selling or mortgaging; (3) the avoidance of countless inconveniences, 22-70. The best reform is—1. to legalise an ordinary low rate of interest, which will ease borrowers, raise the price of land, and encourage industrious improvements; 11. to license, on payment, a higher rate of mercantile interest. Such authorised mitigation of usury is better than its present unauthorised licence, 71-127.]

P. 37. [3] **Tithe**: The allusion is to the *ten per cent*: sanctioned by the Act of Henry VIII. and revived by Elizabeth in 1571. [5] **Virgil**: *Georgics*, iv. 168, 'The drones, the crowd of do-nothings, are driven from the hive.' [7] **In sudore**, &c.: 'In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread;' not 'in the sweat of another's brow.' [9] **Orange-tawny**: The colour assigned by law to the Jews. Mr. Wright quotes Vecellio to show that the 'yellow bonnet' was compulsory in Venice. [10] **Beget**, &c.:

¹ His cautious and practical view of the matter is illustrated by *Life*, vol. iv. p. 325, 'We have seen variety of projects in this kind, but could not satisfy ourselves that any of them could be so framed, but will tend to a great discouragement and decay of trade and merchandise.'

Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, i. 3. 135, to 'take a breed of *barren* metal,' where Shakespeare is repeating Aristotle's objection. [15] **Suspicious**: 'Suspected, exciting suspicion,' Lat. 'suspectas.' The bank established in Amsterdam in 1659 ought, by its principles, to have had always in hand bullion equal to deposits; and it was ruined on the publication of a private loan made by the directors to the states of Holland and Friesland. *Suspicious* of such loans are perhaps here in Bacon's mind. The first established bank in Europe was the bank of Venice (founded 1171) which lasted till 1797. [16] **Discovery**: Men's incomes were to be *discovered* or revealed in order to ascertain that they had not increased them by usury, or else to exact 'the King's profit.' See note on l. 121 below. [19] **Either**, &c.: The meaning seems to be either weighed and estimated (Lat. *ponderetur*), or, if that cannot be done, at all events separated from the evil. [25] **Lie still**: This seems a strange statement and inconsistent with l. 50. The very word *usury* implies that money is being *used*. [26] **Vena Porta**: See *Essay* xix. l. 147, note. [29] **Set**: To be settled. Compare the passage in the spurious *Essay* on Death, 'He that was well *seated* looked back at his Portion, and was loth to forsake his farm.' [38] **Spread**: Compare *Essay* xv. l. 155, 'And money is like muck, not good unless it be spread.' [40] **Purchasing**: The Lat. adds 'of equates.' That is certainly implied, and perhaps conveyed by the word 'purchasing;' which meant 'permanently acquiring,' rather than mere 'buying.' It is from the Fr. *pourchasser*, 'to chase after,' and very early acquired a bad meaning, as the gains of adventurers, whether beggars (Chaucer, *Prologue*, 258) or robbers (Spenser, *Faery Queene*, i. 2. 16). This old-fashioned use was retained as a term of thieves' slang in Bacon's time. See *Henry V.* iii. 2. 45, and perhaps *Essay* li. l. 37.

P. 39. [56] **Foot**: Fair measure, standard; Lat. 'vili pretio,' 'at a low price.' But 'under foot' might simply mean 'low,' i.e. 'at a low rate.' I have not found another instance where *foot* means 'measure.' [70] **Utopia**: Probably not used generally (as with us), but specially referring to Sir Thomas More's Utopians, who 'whosoeuer for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde. Thus by al meanes possible they procure to haue golde and siluer among them in reproche and infamie.' [82] **To seek**: 'You are *to seek*' seems to have meant 'you must seek' (implying 'you are in want'), just as 'you are to know' meant 'you

must know.' Hence, 'will be to seek' means 'will be in want.' Compare (besides *Comus*, 366) the now antiquated epigram of Porson :

'The Germans in Greek
Are sadly *to seek*;
All but old Hermann,
And Hermann's a German.'

P. 40. [92] **To take** : 'As regards taking,' *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 356. [92] **The State** : In the 'tractate' it is 'King,' not 'State.' In the Latin it is 'King or State.' [98] **But five** : But it would seem an obvious consequence that no one would lend at 5 per cent. who could make 6 per cent. by buying land of his own. [112] **Suspicious** : See l. 15. [112] **Answered** : 'To answer' meant, 1st, 'to be responsible for;' 2nd, as here, 'to pay for.' Compare, in sense 1, 'I'll answer the carriage,' 1 *Henry IV.* iv. 2. 8. The Latin has 'exiguam aliquam summam percipiat,' 'Let the state receive some small sum.' [121] **Colour** : i.e. 'The usurer will not be able to give to other people's money the appearance of being his own by using it in his business.' So the Latin, 'For thus they will not have the opportunity, under cover of this licence, of lending other people's money as though it were their own.' Bacon seems to have thought this objection more serious when he wrote the *Essay* than when he wrote the tractate. For then, *Life*, vol. vii. p. 418, in answer to the objection that 'though certain men be licensed, yet they will colour the money of many others,' he says, 'The better, for the King's profit will be the more. And, besides, it will salve that inconvenience (which is somewhat harsh) of the discovery of men's estates. For it will not be known of the money how much is the lender's proper, and how much by factorage.'

P. 41. [126] **Declaration** : With somewhat more of the Latin sense of 'publishing *clearly*' than is retained in modern English. [127] **Rage** : Perhaps used as in 'a raging tooth,' *Othello*, iii. 3. 414. The Latin trans. omits ll. 124-7.

XLII

Of Youth and Age

The *Antitheta* are as follows :—

FOR.

1. First thoughts, and youthful plans have more of the Divine inspiration.
2. Old men are too wise for themselves, and not wise enough for their neighbour and their country.
3. Age, could we see it, deforms the mind even more than it does the body.
4. Old men fear everything but God.

AGAINST.

1. Youth is a fine field for penitence.
2. Youth has an inherent contempt for the authority of the aged, to the end that all may gain wisdom at their own peril.
3. Time will not ratify the counsels to which he is not invited.
4. As youth is changed to age, the Loves are changed to the Graces.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 5-7, 'and yet—divinely;' 10-14, 'as it was—the list;' 15, 16, 'as it is seen—others;' 56-69.

[Youth has less wisdom but more imagination and invention than old age. It is unripe for action in violent, but ripe in reposed natures; and also is old age in vivacious natures, 1-18. Youth does better in action and novel circumstances: but its errors are more fatal than those of age. Since youth errs in excess and haste, but age in deficiency and delay, the two should be employed together, so as to correct the defects and retain the fruits of both, 18-46. Morally, perhaps youth has the advantage, as age has it politically. Youth fails sometimes to fulfil its promise, (1) when the understanding is frail; (2) when the promising qualities befit youth but not age; (3) when men take too high a strain at the first, 46-70.]

P. 42. [7] **Divinely**: See *Antitheta* above. [12] **Said** 'Spartian. *Vit. Sev.*' (W.) Gibbon says, chap. v.: 'The uncommon abilities and fortune of Severus have induced an elegant historian (Herodian, iii. 112) to compare him with the first and greatest of the Cæsars.' But he concludes his chapter with the words: 'Posterity, who experienced the fatal effects of his maxims and examples, justly considered him as the principal author of it

decline of the Roman empire.' [15] **Cosmus**: Mentioned in *Essay* iv. l. 30; made Duke of Florence in 1537. [16] **Fois**: Probably Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII., who fell, at twenty-three years of age, fighting against the Spaniards and Italians in the battle of Ravenna, 1512. Bacon can hardly have described as a 'reposed nature' Gaston the third, Count de Foix, born in 1331, and distinguished for his youthful beauty. This man (who is said to have indulged himself with sixteen hundred hunting-dogs) poniarded a governor whom he could not persuade to deliver his castle to the French, imprisoned his own son groundlessly, and accidentally killed him. [17] **Age**: Used for *old age* throughout this *Essay*; cf. *Richard III.* iv. 4. 171. [17] **Is**: The singular verb *is* is used after the two subjects, because 'heat and vivacity' represent one notion, or by attraction to the complementary subject 'composition.' [18] **Composition**: Lat. 'temperamentum,' mixture of qualities; cf. *Essay* xxxi. l. 12.

P. 43. [22] **Compass, &c.**: Cf. for the thought, *Hamlet*, ii. i. 115. [25] **But to this**: But on the other hand, 'the froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation,' *Essay* xxiv. l. 13. And cf. *Essay* xxi. l. 6. [31] **Care not to**: i.e. 'Are not careful *about*, do not *avoid*, innovating.' [31] **Absurdly**: Unseasonably and perversely. The Lat. takes this with 'pursue;' and probably that is the meaning of the English. [38] **Period**: By derivation, a complete *circuit*. Hence *end*. [49] **Rabbin**: Abrahanel in his commentary on Joel (W.) *Rabbin* is another form of *Rabbi*, 'great one;' hence 'master.' [56] **Affections**: Bacon sums up against Age in his *History of Life and Death*, *Works*, vol. v. p. 319. For the quotation at full length see Introduction, p. cxlvi.

P. 44. [57] **Have**: For the omission of the Rel. see *Sk. Grammar*, Par. 244. [60] **Hermogenes**: 'See Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 7. According to Suidas this happened when he was twenty-four.' (W.) [65] **Tully**: *Brut.* 95, 'remanebat.' [65] **Hortensius**: The contemporary and at first the rival of Cicero. [60] **Livy**: xxxviii. 53. 'His end did not match his beginning.' What Livy says is, that Scipio was more renowned in war than in peace, and that in the peaceful times of his later life 'there was no material for his nature to work on.'

XLIII

Of Beauty

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

FOR.

1. 'Deformed persons are commonly even with nature.'
2. Virtue is nothing but inward beauty, and beauty nothing but outward virtue.
3. Deformed persons seek to rescue themselves from contempt, if by no other means, by their malice.
4. Beauty makes virtues shine and vices blush.

AGAINST.

1. 'Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set.'
2. What a fair robe is to a foul figure, that beauty is to the base.
3. Those whom beauty adorns and those whom beauty attracts, are mostly alike light.

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 9-13, 'but—times ;' 28-30, 'a man—well.'

[Beauty is too rich a setting for virtue, and (spite of notable exceptions) seldom accompanies a noble nature, 1-13. Beauty of complexion is inferior both to beauty of expression and also to that of graceful demeanour. Beauty is beyond anticipation and prescription. Youth cannot be really comely. Beauty is always frail, and more often an injury than an ornament to virtue, 14-39.]

P. 45. [4] **Almost** : For the most part, generally. Lat. *ferè*. For *almost* after 'not,' see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 29. [8] **Great spirit** : i.e. They have external accomplishments, but not greatness of nature. *Spirit* is put for the breath and essence of their nature. But perhaps there is a notion of ambition in the phrase, as in the Greek, 'to breathe great things,' i.e. to be proud. [12] **Ismael** : See the modern additions to North's Plutarch, Ed. 1656, p. 27, 'A certain priest of Armenia . . . found so great hopes of his excellent graces and perfections, clearly appearing by the lineaments of his face and body, that he took all the pains and care he could to bring him up.' He made himself master of Persia in 1478. But this 'high spirit' murdered his own mother. [14] **Favour** : (Lat. *venustus*), apparently means 'beautiful features.'

'Decent and gracious motion' (the Lat. inserts 'oris et corporis') seems⁴ to mean 'expression and mien.' Cf. *Euphues* (Arber's reprint), p. 444, 'There did I behold them of pure complexion, exceeding the lillie and the rose, of fauour (wherein ye chiefest beutie consisteth) surpassing the pictures that were feyned.' [20]

Apelles : 'Not Apelles, but Zeuxis (Cic. *De Inv.* ii. 1. 1; Pliny, xxv. 36, § 2), who, when painting a picture for the temple of Juno Lacinia at Cróton, selected five of the most beautiful virgins of the country, that his painting might present the best features of each. The allusion to Albert Dürer is to his treatise, *De Symmetria partium humani corporis*' (W.) [20] **Were** : Apparently for *be*, to denote past time. [20] **More** : In its old use as an adj. 'greater;' see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 17.

P. 46 [21] **Would** : 'Wished to.' [28] **That** : Seen as to be the Relative Pronoun, object of 'examine;' 'them' being supplementary. See *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 248. (Possibly the passage in *Henry V.* iv. 4. 76, there quoted, is similar to this, and may be explained as this is.) In that case *altogether* must be regarded as two words, 'yet all (the parts) together.' [32] **Many times** : Not 'much,' but 'often;' Lat. 'aliquando.' [33] **Pulchrorum** : 'The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful.' The Lat. trans. adds 'according to the saying of Euripides.' It is mistranslated in North in the beginning of the Life of Alcibiades, p. 165, 'Euripides saith, that of all the faire times of the yeare, the Autumne, or later season, is the fairest.' [34] **Comely** : Lat. 'per omnia decus tuetur,' 'it is not possible that youth should on all occasions preserve gracefulness.' [34] **By pardon** : i.e. 'not by right but by favour.' [34] **Considering** : The Latin has 'unless perchance you take in (*assumas*) youth itself to supply the deficiency of gracefulness,' i.e. unless you consider youth itself as a beauty. If this be correct, *considering* is not used as it would otherwise naturally seem to be used for 'making allowance for.' But perhaps the Latin is wrong. [38] **Light**, &c. : 'If it alight on a worthy owner.' See *Antitheta*. [39] **Vices** : This may mean that the virtue well-placed makes the owner blush at *his own* vices, and therefore deters him from them; or that his beauty, hand in hand with virtue, makes vice look ugly and blush *in others*.

XLIV

Of Deformity

For the *Antitheta*, see *Essay* xliii. 10.

The Edition of 1612 contains after 'therefore,' in l. 39. the following words, 'They prove either the best of men or the worst, or strangely mixed.' In other respects the Essays agree.

Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 17, 1612, soon after the publication of the Second Edition of the *Essays*, says: 'Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new *Essays*, where, in a chapter on Deformity, the world takes notice that he points out his little cousin to the life' (W.) The 'little cousin,' Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had recently died, May 1612 A.D.; and if 'the world' was right (of which there is no proof) it was somewhat ungenerous of Bacon thus to hold up to contempt a man lately dead, to whom he had been indebted for many services, and to whom he had written (New Year's Day, 1608 A.D.), 'I do esteem whatsoever I have, or may have, in the world but as trash in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot. For having been a studious, if not curious, observer, as well of antiquities of virtue as of late pieces, I forbear to say to your lordship what I find and conceive; but to any other I would think to make myself believed.'

[Deformity in body is, not perhaps a sign, but a powerful cause of deformity in mind, 1-14. Scorn makes deformed persons bold and jealously watchful, while, under cover of it, they creep unperceived into promotion, 14-29. Their envious isolation has made them the confidants of kings, but rather for spying than for governing. The same law of scorn works in all, inducing some to free themselves from it by malice, a few by extraordinary virtue, 29-43.]

P. 47. [10] **Stars**: 'Natural inclination' is compared to 'stars,' because men's nature was supposed to be determined by the conjunction of planets at their nativity. [27] **Should**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 326.

P. 48. [28] **Upon the matter**: The Edition of 1612 inserts 'whole' before 'matter.' In any case the meaning must be 'on the whole.' [29] **Wit**: Intellect, *Essay* I. l. 6. [32] **Obnox-**

ious : 'Under the power of,' Latin use ; cf. *Essay* xxxvi. l. 49. [33]
Officious : 'Dutiful ;' Latin use. Cf. Milton, *Par. Reg.* ii. 302.
 [36] **Reason** : Lat. 'ratio,' i.e. 'rule,' 'ordinary condition.' [36]
Still : 'Always,' 'in either case,' i.e. 'both in the case of eunuchs
 and in that of deformed persons.' [40] **Agésilas** : See *Essay* ix.
 50. [41] **Zanger** : Or Djanger, son of Solyman the Magnificent,
 said to have died (about 1553 A.D.) of grief at the execution of his
 brother Mustapha by Solyman. [41] **Æsop** : Lived about the middle
 of the 6th century before Christ. The popular stories of his deformity
 are unworthy of credit, being based on a 'Life,' written about the
 middle of the 14th century after Christ. [41] **Gasca** : Put down
 the rebellion of Pizarro in Peru, 1547 A.D. [42] **Socrates** : For
 Bacon's depreciation of Socrates, whom he here allows to 'go
 amongst' Zanger, Gasca, and the like, see *Essay* liv. l. 34, also
 Introduction, p. lxx. But more probably Bacon's doubt, whether
 Socrates 'may go amongst them,' arises from the fact that the snub
 nose and ugly features of the philosopher scarcely entitled him to
 rank among the 'deformed.'

XLV

Of Building

[Houses—except in poetry—should be to live in, not to look at. Choose a site with good air, good neighbours, and as many conveniences as can be concentrated round one dwelling. Or let one of your dwellings supply the deficiencies of the rest, 1-37. The front must have two wings of uniform exterior ; one, a banquet wing, consisting of one spacious room (with a preparing room below) for masques ; the other for the household. Between the two, a tower two stories above the wings, 37-80. The rest of the first court (which should be turfed, not paved, and should be two-roomed throughout its thickness) should have, on the banquet side, galleries on the household side, suites of private rooms for various weathers and seasons, 80-110. The inner court should have the garden around it, a fringe of cloisters inside, and in the centre a fountain. It should have retired rooms and galleries, cool chambers, open galleries with fountains looking on the garden. There should be three ante-courts—one walled plainly, the second more elaborately, the third with three sides terraced. Offices should be reached by long low galleries, 111-148.]

P. 49. [2] **Uniformity** : Note the assumption that 'uniformity' is a beauty in house-building ; and cf. l. 53 below, where the outside is to be uniform, though the inside is 'severally par-

tioned.' But the Latin has '*pulchritudini*.' [6] **Seat**: i.e. *site*. *Site* is not found in Shakespeare nor in the poems of Milton or Pope. [9] **Knop**: Same as *knop* or *knob*; means 'knoll.' [15] **Momus**: The god of fault-finding, blamed Athenes's house because it had no wheels to transport it from *ill neighbours*. [18] **Mixture**: 'Want of' must be supplied before 'mixture.'

P. 50. [21] **The commodity**: Bacon is speaking of 'wants' and 'discommodities,' not of 'commodities;' and therefore 'to' should be read for 'the,' or 'not' inserted before 'the.' The Latin has '*nulla commoditas*,' '*no commodity*.' [24] **Lurcheth**: Here said to mean 'swallows.' But in 'lurch,' *Coriolanus*, ii. 2. 105, in the words 'lurcher' and 'lurch-line,' and in the verse quoted by Nares, 'Each look did *lurch* my heart,' the meaning seems rather to be to 'take quickly, *before others can take it*.' The word is said by Wedgwood to be connected with *lurk*, and to have, for its radical meaning, 'to take away *by stealth*.' [31] **Lucullus**: North's *Plutarch*, p. 443. [42] **Perfection**: 'Accomplishment,' 'practice,' a Latinism. [44] **Vatican**: Is said to have at least 4422 rooms, and a mile-long museum of statues (*ib.*) It is said to have been founded by Symmachus about 500 A.D. [45] **Escurial**: Begun in 1563 by Philip II. It contains fifteen courts, and 'comprises a monastery, a college, a seminary, and a royal palace' (Brande and Cox, *Dictionary of Science*, &c.) [46] **Several**: 'Separate,' 'distinct;' the Latin has '*longe diversas*,' 'widely different.' See note on l. 2. [47] **Hester**: *Ether* l. 5. [50] **Triumphs**: Shows, feasts, &c. (cf. title of *Essay xxxvii.*), Lat. 'feasts and amusements.' [52] **Returns**: Sides of the first court, the parts where the house *turns back* from the front. The Latin is 'I understand that these two portions are to be erected, not as sides of the house, but as parts of the front itself.' The house is built like a college with two courts.

P. 51. [61] **At the first**: This seems to mean 'beginning from the tower,' and coming last to the parlours 'at the further end.' But the Latin has '*præcipue*,' 'chiefly.' [64] **These rooms**: The Lat. adds 'with the exception of the chapel.' [68] **Eighteen**: Lat. 'fifteen.' [69] **Statuas**: See *Essay xxvii.* l. 165, note. [72] **Newel**: Halliwell quotes, for the meaning of *newel*, 'a pillar of stone or wood where the steps terminate in a winding staircase.' The Latin has 'I would have the steps of the tower open and winding round and round, and with a division for every six, lined on

both sides with wooden statues gilt, or, at all events, bronze-coloured, together with a platform, roomy and wide, at the top.' [75] **Point** : Appoint, *Sk. Grammar*, Par. 460. [79] **Sixteen** : Lat. 'twenty.' [83] **Cast into** : Seems to mean no more than 'contrived so as to be,' as in l. 99, below. [84] **On the outside** : This refers to the 'towers,' not to the 'steps.' At least, it is so in the Latin, 'Let turrets be erected to receive steps. . . . Which *turrets* should not be drawn into the line of the building, but should project.' [89] **Alleys** : Simply *going places* (Fr. *aller*), paths. See *Essay* xlv. 83, and cf. Milton's 'I know each lane and every *alley* green,' *Comus*, 311. The court is to be turfed and paved like a court in college.

P. 52. [95] **Presence**, &c. : The chamber where the king or lord is *present* to receive his guests. Sometimes *presence* is used for 'chamber of presence,' as in *Richard II.* i. 3. 289. [102] **Become** : An intensive form of 'come' rarely used as in 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 1. 10, 'Until I be resolved where our right valiant father's *become*.' 'The prodigal use of glass became a marked feature in the domestic architecture of the time;' see for the whole *Essay*, Green's *Short History*, &c., p. 389. [103] **Embowed** : Our *bow windows*. [109] **Sides** : That is, not in the front nor in the end opposite the front. [115] **Under** : The Latin has 'the *outer part* of the lower story, towards the garden, *so far as concern the two sides*.' This narrows the meaning. [118] **Ground** : After this word the Latin adds 'elegantly paved.' [119] **Fountain** : Lat. 'a splendid fountain.' [121] **Paved** : i.e. not to be paved except in the paths, but to be turfed. [122] **Sides** : This word does not mean the court side and garden side of the row of buildings, but the two sides of the court as distinguished from the *end*, Lat. 'transversum latus.' [123] **Whereof** : Of the 'chambers and galleries' mentioned in l. 123. The Latin makes this clear; but 'one' seems a mistake for 'some,' which the Latin has 'aliquæ.'

P. 53. [126] **Anticamera** : For the spelling see the note on 'Antimasques,' *Essay* xxxvii. l. 37. The Latin Edition (1638) has 'antecamera.' [126] **Recamera** : i.e. 'retiring chamber.' [127] **Ground**, &c. : This is unintelligible without the Latin. It really refers to the 'under story towards the garden,' mentioned in l. 115. This has been disposed of, *so far as concerns the sides* (see note there), but not as regards the *end*. The Latin shows that the writer is aware that he is supplying an omission, a

little out of its place: 'But let the *transverse side* (i.e. *end*) of the lower story towards the garden be turned into a portico, *fais*, open, and propped on pillars.' I understand this to be open to the air like the portico in the library court of Trinity, Cambridge. [128] **Story**: The Lat. adds 'on all three sides (of the court).' [130] **Further side**: i.e. The *end*. The Lat. adds 'on the second story.' [130] **By way of return**: This may perhaps mean 'by way of forming the connection between the *end* and the two *sides* called the *returns*, as in l. 52. [137] **Avoidances**: Voiding-places, or outlets for the water. The Latin has 'which fountains may pass away again through hidden pipes.' The Latin translation here inserts a mention of covered galleries for convalescents, on the court-side of the higher story, and adds, 'I pass by baths and fish-ponds.' [144] **Terraces**: The Lat. is 'ambulacra,' used also in l. 113 of the *cloisters*. Perhaps the meaning is, that the roof of the *cloister* is to furnish a *terrace* (Fr. *terrasse*, l. 141. *terra*, a raised level bank of earth; hence the flat roof of a house).

XLVI

Of Gardens

[A garden gives the purest and most refined of human pleasures. A royal garden ought to suit all seasons, and to give perpetual spring both to sight and smell, 1-77. It should consist of a main garden, two side gardens, a further garden or heath, and an entrance green. The main garden is to be enclosed by a flower-set mound, on which stands a conspicuous fence adorned with arches, turrets, and statues. A central avenue (for temperate weather) and side avenues (for hot or rainy weather) lead over the green to the main garden. There is to be an unbroken view of the arched fence from the green, and of the heath from the main garden, 78-123. The interior of the main garden is to be laid out with a view to broad effects; in its centre will be a banquetting-house on a mount. Fountains are a great beauty, and admit of many devices; but in arranging them, the first consideration is to be cleanliness, health, and sweetness, 141-170. The heath is to be fair and fragrant in a natural wildness. The side-gardens are to contain fruit-trees and dry sheltered walks for rough weather (with outlooks into the surrounding country), the main garden being for the more temperate seasons. Avicaries are to be rejected, unless large enough to be clean and natural. The above is only an outline, but many more costly elaborations tend in no way to the true pleasure of a garden, 170-235.]

P. 54. [4] **Handyworks**: Lat. 'manus tantum opera nec sapiunt naturam,' 'mere works of the hand, without any savour of nature.' [5] **Civility**: Civilisation. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Regained*, iv. 83. Referring to the gardens of Amaurote, Sir Thomas More writes, *Utopia* (Arber's reprint, p. 79), 'King Utopus himselfe drewe furthe the platte fourme of the city into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe . . . but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautiful setting furth of it, that he left to his posteritie.'

P. 55. [47] **These**, &c.: Mr. Wright says that in two copies he finds, instead of the words 'these—affords,' the following passage: 'Thus, if you will, you may have the Golden Age again, and a spring all the year along.' [54] **Fast**, &c.: 'Retentive of their smells.'

P. 56. [63] **With**: The original has 'which,' probably a misprint for 'with;' or some verb is to be supplied. [65] **Bent**: A coarse kind of grass fitted for *bending*; see Nares. Lat. 'caule plantaginis,' 'stalk of the plantain.' [83] **Alleys**: Going places (Fr. *aller*) i.e. paths; not necessarily lined with trees or hedges; see *Essay* xlv. 89.

P. 57. [97] **Knots**: The technical word for flower-plots; cf. *Richard II.* iii. 4. 46; *Euphues*, p. 37 and p. 450. But Bacon is here objecting, not to flower-knots, but to earth-knots. [102] **Hedge**: Used here, and throughout the *Essay*, of a fence; [106] **Entire**: 'Continuous,' Lat. *continuata*. [109] **Cage**: The restrictions on aviaries in l. 223 have been treated as an indication that Bacon had a strong love of animals; but it would seem he did not object to cages, provided the want of 'nestling' and 'foulness' did not obtrude themselves on the spectator. [116] **To leave**: Depends on 'understand,' the construction being changed from 'should' to the Infinitive. See similar instances in *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 416. [122] **Letting**: 'Hindering;' 'for' means 'because of;' hence, owing to context, 'for fear of.' In *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 154, this meaning is traced from a radical meaning of 'for,' 'in front of,' i.e. 'to prevent.' But, more probably, it is derived from the secondary meaning 'because of.'

P. 58 [127] **Busy**: Lat. 'curiosa,' elaborate; not full of 'childish curiosity' or 'petty wonderment;' see *Essay* xxxvii. l. 15-18, and cf. Introduction, p. xxxviii. [130] **Welts**: Generally used of the borders of gowns. [137] **Circles**: The Lat. has 'perfectly circular, without any figures of bulwarks.' I can only explain this on the sup-

position that each path is to be a spiral winding round the mount, and having no side erections or excrescences to break the regular spiral curve. *Embossments* are bosses; used of architectural projections. [139] **Chimneys**: Not chimney-pots on the roof, but the grates and fire-places (Lat. *caminus*, a furnace, Fr. *cheminée*). See Wright's *Homes of Other Days*, p. 453, for illustrations of fire-irons and fire-places 'neatly cast.' 'The chimney-corner, so closely associated with family life, came into existence with the general introduction of chimneys, a feature rare in ordinary houses at the beginning of this reign,' Green, *Short History*, &c., p. 388. [140] **Glass**: A similar caution is given in *Essay* xlv. l. 102. [145] **Receipt**: i.e. receptacle. [149] **As**: i.e. that; *SA. Grammar*, Par. 109.

P. 59. [165] **Equality**: Lat. 'by tubes of equal dimensions, so that the water may be drawn off as fast as it goes in.' [189] **But here**, &c.: i.e. 'but only here and there because of the strong smell.' So the Lat. 'sed hæc rarior propter gravitatem odoris.' [193] **Course**: i.e. out of due course, out of bounds. Lat. 'ne deformiter excrescant,' lest they grow 'to an unshapely excess.'

P. 60. [201] **Going wet**: i.e. walking in the wet; Lat. 'ne infundo ambulationi sit.' *Go* was used in old times for 'walk.' So Wyclif, 'the blind see, the lame go.' Cf. the modern phrase of a horse, 'he goes lame.' [207] **Deceive**: Cheat the trees of the nutriment they should derive from the soil. **Breast high**: i.e. so that when you stand on the top of the mound, your breast may be level with the top of the wall of the enclosure. [217] **Rest upon**: Depend upon.

P. 61. [235] **To**: Would seem to mean 'in comparison with' (*Sh. Grammar*, Par. 187), but that the Latin has 'in no way conducing to the genuine pleasure.'

XLVII

Of Negotiating

The Edition of 1612 omits ll. 13-27, 'use—prescription; 49-52, "In all—degrees."
VOL. II.

[It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter, and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self; but there are exceptions, 1-12. Choose as instruments the straightforward, the willing, the suitable, and the lucky, 13-27. Be not sudden, unless for a purpose; suggest hopes; remember the importance of first performance, 27-38. There are seasons when men discover themselves, and means whereby men may be influenced. Consider the objects of the cunning. Be patient in expectation, 39-52.]

P. 62. [2] **Third**: There are also obvious disadvantages in using a third person. But perhaps Bacon has in his mind *Essay* xxvii. ll. 249-53. [6] **It**: Used for 'there,' as the Latin shows. [8] **Tender**: Lat. 'in matters that need to be touched with the tips of one's fingers.' [12] **Disavow**: Not afterwards, but in the course of the conversation. The Lat. has 'dedicendi,' an English-Latin word, probably meaning 'unsaying.' But *disavow* rather means to 'disclaim' or 'disown' words wrongly imputed to you; and *expound* implies to disclaim wrong meanings by explaining your real meaning.

P. 63. [15] **Success**: i.e. the event, whether good or bad; cf. the neutral use of 'conceit' in *Essay* vi. l. 105. [17] **Help**: Lat. 'will smooth their news with fair words to give the more satisfaction (to their employer).' See *Essay* xlix. 8. [18] **Satisfaction**: Compare 'for recreation sake,' 1 *Hen. IV.* i. 2. 17. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 22. [19] **Affect**: 'Like,' see *Essay* i. l. 3. [23] **Absurd**: Dull-witted, stupid. So Richard III., finding Buckingham too circumspect, will 'converse with iron-witted fools,' for the business 'that doth not well bear itself out,' *Richard III.* iv. 2. 28. The word (derived from *ab* and the root in *su-sur-rus*, *ovpicew* meant originally 'tuneless.' Cf. *Essay* vi. l. 72. [23] **That**, &c.: Lat. 'that has any unfairness in it.' [27] **Prescription**: That which is *written first*; hence that which is *written first*, so as to bar second claimants; hence, in law, 'the declaration of customary possession, used as a *first* objection, barring, by anticipation, external claims.' And it seems thus used here of 'their claim to be lucky, based upon custom.' [31] **Appetite**: i.e. in a state of desire; Lat. 'qui in ambitu sunt,' 'those who are canvassing, seeking place.' [37] **That**: Inserted for connection; *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 285. The meaning is, 'if A can persuade B that he (A) will still need B's future services, even after B has performed the service A now demands, then B will not mind undertaking the first performance, as he (B) will feel that he

(B) still has a hold on A. Or, again, if A has the reputation for being superior to B in honesty, A may fairly ask B to undertake *the first performance*.'

P. 64. [39] **Practice**: Used (as in Greek) for *negotiation, diplomacy*, with a sense of trickery; cf., *Twelfth Night*, v. 1. 360.

[40] **At unawares**: A reduplication of grammatical forms, like *yours*. *Unawares* might stand by itself as an adverb, formed, like *always*, from the possessive inflection.

XLVIII

Of Followers and Friends

The Edition of 1612 is almost identical with that of 1597, except that the former includes ll. 12-16, though omitting the words 'who—follow.'

[Discourage burdensome, factious, bragging, and tale-bearing followers, 1-21. One attracts followers most honourably, not by similarity of vocation, but by appreciation of merit in all vocations. Yet often, especially in base times, fitness must be preferred to ability. In government, use justice; in favour, use choice. Make not too much of any man at first. Be governed by no one, still less by many. To take advice of a few friends is honourable; but true friendship is rarely found, and never between equals, 21-55.]

An imperfect 'Cheque [roll] of all the servants of the Right [Honourable Sir Francis] Bacon, Knight, Lord Chancellor of [England], dated 1618 A.D., given by Mr. Spedding, *Life*, vol. vi. pp. 336, 337, contains two Chaplains, six Gentlemen of the Chamber, twenty-six Gentlemen Waiters, four Pages, two Gentlemen Ushers, two Yeomen Ushers, three Yeomen of the Wardrobe, three Yeomen of the Ewry and Pantry, and four Butlers. The whole number of names (including those missing) would be 100; and apparently there was a separate list for Bacon's household at Gorhambury.

As early as 1593 A.D., Lady Bacon (Bacon's mother) had, and expressed, very strong opinions on the indulgence of her son Francis towards his servants (*Life*, vol. i. pp. 244, 245): 'Though I pity your brother, yet so long as he pitieth not himself, . . . surely

I am utterly discouraged and make a conscience further to undo myself to maintain such wretches. . . . Seeing manifestly that he is robbed and spoiled wittingly by his base-exalted men, which with wiles prey upon him, . . . I did desire only to receive the money to discharge his debts indeed, and dare not trust such his riotous men with the dealing withal.' In 1618 A.D., immediately after Bacon was made Lord Chancellor, we are told by Chamberlain (*Life*, vol. vi. p. 287) that 'his Lordship hath of late much insinuated into the King's and Lord Marquis's favour, and takes a new course of thriving; having at one clap cashiered sixteen of his gallants.' 'If the stories told are true,' says Mr. Spedding, *Life*, vol. vii. p. 563, 'his money was kept in drawers from which his servants could help themselves at will.'

P. 65. [2] **Train**: Used of a peacock's tail (Lat. 'caudæ plumas'), as in *Hen. VI.* iii. 3. 5. The meaning is, that while a man increases his show he diminishes his ability. [4] **Importune**: 'Importunate'; see *Essay* ix. l. 164. [11] **Intelligence**: We use 'bad understanding,' or 'misunderstanding,' for 'ill intelligence.' [12] **Glorious**: 'Boastful,' 'ostentatious'; see *Essay* xxxiv. l. 112.

P. 66. [15] **Export**, &c.: A metaphor from commerce. Lat. 'they import the wares of envy.' [18] **Spials**: Spies; in *Essay* xlv. 34, we find the form *spials*. [20] **Officious**: Pungent in the performance of duty. They are in favour because of this, and also because they exchange their tales about you for tales about other people, which they relate to you. Cf. *Essay* xlv. 33. [25] **Civil**: 1st, 'That which befits citizens'; 2nd, 'that which befits citizens as opposed to soldiers'; hence 'consistent with good government.' Lat. 'pro re decora,' 'seemly.' [30] **Passable**: 'That which can just pass muster'; hence 'tolerable,' 'common-place.' The Latin has, 'mediocribus,' 'common-place'; and for 'more able' has 'eminentioribus,' 'more eminent.' But it is possible that the meaning of 'passable' is 'those that will better pass the test of practice.' If the Latin is correct, the meaning appears to be that for subordinate posts pre-eminent ability is a positive disadvantage. [32] **Virtuous**: Note that *virtuous* is here used nearly in the sense of *able* in l. 31. And cf. *Essay* xiv. l. 48, where the founders of houses are said to be 'more *virtuous*, i.e. able, but less innocent.'

P. 67. [36] **Because**, &c.: i.e. '— and naturally, because

they are entitled to claim equal or impartial treatment as a due.' The Latin is, 'since equality of rank demands, as it were, as a due, equality of favour.' [48] **Of, &c.** : See *Works*, vol. iii. p. 435, where 'a man of the first impression.' (that is, one who readily takes and keeps a prejudice) is opposed to 'a man of the last impression'; that is, a changeable man who is always most swayed by what he has last heard. [51] **The vale, &c.** : Compare *Life*, iii. p. 103, 'A man that standeth off and somewhat removed from a plot of ground, doth better survey it and discover it than those which are upon it.' But, *Works*, vol. v. p. 15, this is called 'a proverb more arrogant than sound, concerning the censure of the people on the actions of their superiors.' It is perhaps borrowed from Machiavelli's dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici, 'as they who take the landscape of a country, to consider the mountains and the nature of the higher places do descend ordinarily into the plains, . . . in like manner to know the nature of princes it is requisite to be of the people.' [55] **Comprehend** : i.e. 'include,' so that the prosperity of the superior includes the prosperity of the inferior.

XLIX

Of Suits

The Edition of 1612 resembles that of 1597 in the first dozen lines; it also omits ll. 28, 29, 'but—nose;' 39, 40, 'and—discovery;' 61-64, 'there—proceedings.'

[Many, from interested motives, support suits in appearance but not in reality, 1-17. If you do not favour, at least do not attack, the side that has equity or desert. Test suits before supporting them, 17-29. Be straightforward in refusing or in not exaggerating your services; take no advantage of information from a refused petitioner. Discern the importance of suits, 29-42. Be secret and reasonable, and choose instruments well; take a refusal good-humouredly; ask more than you aim at, if you are strong in favour, but not otherwise. Testimonials should not seem small matters to the givers. General suit-contractors are a poison to public proceedings, 42-64.]

P. 68. [3] **Embrace** : Lat. 'receive, and eagerly promise aid.' [7] **Life, &c.** : Lat. 'that the matter will succeed by the efforts of others.'

P. 69. [14] **Entertainment**: Introduction; Lat. 'to make a bridge as it were for their own.' The Cecils professed to advance Bacon's suit for the solicitorship; yet Bacon declares that in the time of the Cecils (Introd. p. xxviii.) 'able men were suppressed of purpose.' Possibly, therefore, Bacon may have their conduct in his mind in these remarks. [24] **Depraving**: 'Injuring the reputation of,' 'slandering;' cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. i. 95. [24] **Disabling**: Impairing the reputation of, disparaging, *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 7. 30. [30] **Delays**: Such as Bacon experienced when suing for the solicitorship in 1594. Introduction, p. xxix. [30] **Distasted**: 'Made to receive a distaste;' the English equivalent of *disgusted*. [34] **Gracious**: Lat. 'gratiosa,' 'deserving thanks.' [35] **The first coming, &c.**: 'Priority in presenting one's petition;' at least the Latin has 'prima oblati.' If this is right, then 'his' in the following sentence must refer to some noun implied, e.g. 'first comer.' It is scarcely possible that 'the first coming' may be put for 'the first-coming person.'

P. 70. [40] **Discovery**: Here, as often, his 'disclosure.' The meaning is, 'If you refuse a petition, you are not to take advantage of a disclosure made to you by the petitioner. But he is to be left free to use his other means of obtaining his suit, and thus, in some sort recompensed for his trust in you.' [51] **Certain**: Definite; special. The Latin has 'paucioribus' for 'fewer,' and for 'general,' 'omnia;' 'employ the man that mixes himself with few matters rather than the man that embraces all.' [54] **Iniquum, &c.**: 'Ask for too much that you may make sure of enough.' [55] **Were**: For construction see *Sk. Grammar*, Par. 230.

P. 71. [62] **Contriver**: Used for a schemer or plotter in *Julius Caesar*, ii. i. 58; *As You Like It*, I. i. 151. Lat. 'concinnaiores.' [62] **General**: As in l. 51, means public, indiscriminating. In the last line but one of the Edition of 1597, p. 71, 'not' seems to be inserted by mistake, as also in p. 73, 'but (not) curiously.'

L

Of Studies

The Edition of 1612 omits part of l. 4, 'and—business;' and after 'execute,' l. 5, reads 'but learned men are fittest to judge or censure; it omits ll. 11-15 'for—experience;' 'and—confute' l. 19; 'and—discourse,' l. 20; ll. 26-30, 'some—things;' ll. 45-47, 'for—again;' ll. 48, 49, 'for—sectores;' for l. 50, it has 'to find out resemblances.'

[Studies serve for all conditions of life, even for business. They perfect nature, but are perfected and bounded by experience, and must be neither slavishly admired, nor contemned, nor wondered at, 1-18. Read to weigh and consider; and therefore read different books in different ways; use writing for exactness, conference for readiness, and reading for knowledge, 18-35. Every defect of the mind may find its special receipt in some special study, 36-52.]

P. 72. [1] **Ability**: 'Serve for ability' means 'serve to make men able.' The Latin is fuller: 'Studies and the reading of books serve for pleasure in meditation, for ornament in discourse, or for help in business.' [2] **Retiring**: Retirement. [7] **Learned**: It was a saying with Bacon that a true philosopher could imitate the practical hawk as well as the soaring lark; see Introduction, p. xxxii. [10] **Humour**: Eccentric disposition. See note on Essay xxxvi. l. 1. [13] **Directions, &c.**: Lat. 'generalia præcipiunt,' 'give vague and general instructions.'

P. 73. [24] **Curiously**: 'With great care.' [27] **Would**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 329. [30] **Flashy**: The word is used by Milton, *Lycidas*, 123, 'Their lean and *flashy* songs;' and Mr. Storr quotes from Bacon, 'The tastes that most offend in fruit, herbs, and roots, are bitter, harsh, sour, waterish or *flashy*.' The Latin word here is 'insipidi,' 'insipid,' which would suit this passage as well as the two other passages quoted above. But it is also an agricultural term applied to loose, unsound grass (Halliwell). Now *flash* is (Wedgwood) 'a representation of the sound made by a dash of water or a sudden burst of flame: Swiss *flatschen*, to splash; *flatszen*, to blaze.' Hence it would appear to have a radical meaning of *suddenness*, which suggests *transitoriness*. A *flash* is used for a 'moment' in

Essay xxix. l. 211; and hence *flashy* may mean 'momentary' as opposed to 'permanent'; hence 'showy' as opposed to 'durable'; and hence generally 'unsound,' whether applied to 'grass' or 'distilled waters.' The word 'flash' or 'plash' was provincially used of a temporary pool, but this can hardly have suggested 'flashy' in the sense of 'waterish.' Nares quotes 'flashy' in the sense of 'in fiery haste:' but this is a translation of *Aeneid*, xi. 718. [31]

Bowling: Bowl-playing.

P. 74. [36] **Witty:** Lat. 'ingeniosos'; in *Essay* lxi. l. 8, it means 'ingenious,' full of happy thoughts. The word *witty* (from *wit*, meaning knowledge) is used in Shakespeare for (1) wise, (2) cunning, (3) witty in the modern sense (Schmidt). Cf. *success*, *courage*, also on, used in a broader sense than now. [37] **Grave:** Possibly here 'serious,' as the Latin has 'gravitatem quandam morum.' But the word means 'weighty' in *Essay* xvii. l. 25, 'It was *gravely*, i.e. weightily said.' [38] **Abeunt:** Ovid, *Heroides*, xv. 83, 'One's studies become' at last a part of one's nature.' [39] **Stand:** A stand; cf. *Essay* xl. l. 13. [39] **Wit:** Understanding; see *Essay* i. l. 6. [48] **Schoolmen:** See note on *Essay* xvii. l. 27. [48] **Cymini, &c.:** Cf. *Works*, iii. 305 (*Adv. of Learning*) 'Antoninus Pius . . . had the patient and subtile wit of a *school-man*; inasmuch as in common speech (which leaves no virtue untaxed) he was called *cumin sector*, a carver or divider of cummin seed, which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had, and settled spirit, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes.' But in *Works*, iv. 453 (*De Augmentis*), he says, 'we should avoid the error of Antoninus Pius, and not be splitters of cummin seeds in the sciences.' [49] **Beat over:** Probably a metaphor from hunting; cf. the same phrase in *Essay* xxii. l. 109. The Latin has 'if he is slow in mental transcuriveness,' 'mentis transcursum.'

In the Edition of 1597, p. 73, 'but curiously' seems to be a misprint for 'but not curiously;' see note at end of last Essay.

LI

Of Faction

The Edition of 1612 resembles that of 1597, but adds ll. 40-46.

[The knowledge of factions is not government; yet it is not to be neglected; and a man that wishes to rise must side with a faction, though moderately: 1-15. The weaker faction is the more compact, and hence often victorious. Both in wars and in factions the victorious side often subdivides; and lieutenants rise to leaders, if they can lead, or sink to nothing, if they can only oppose, 15-33. Traitors in faction find ready forgiveness in success. Neutrality sometimes springs from selfishness; yet kings should be neutral, and should see that the motions of factions are subordinated to the motion of the royal orb, 33-59.]

P. 75. [1] **Not wise**: Compare Machiavelli, *Discourses*, iii. 27. 'If a prince believes there is no way for him to keep his towns in obedience but by keeping up factions, it is a certain argument of his weakness; for being unable by force and courage to keep them under, he betakes himself to these pernicious arts, which in peaceable times may palliate a little, but when troubles and adversity come, will assuredly deceive him.' [5] **Which are**, &c.: Which are of *public advantage*, and in which men of *different* factions, nevertheless, i.e. in spite of their difference, agree. [5] **Ordering**: Not 'commanding,' but 'setting in order.' [7] **Correspondence**: Dealing in such ways as to *correspond* to or suit the natures of different individuals: Lat. 'in coaxing, conciliating, and managing individuals.' This is the meaning of *correspond* and *correspondence* in Shakespeare, and possibly in the passage quoted Introduction, p. xlix., to '*correspond* with Salisbury.' Bacon divides the art of government into wisdom and *tact*—wisdom in planning, tact in negotiating; see *Essay* xx. l. 126. [9] **Mean**: A.-S. *mean*, Ger. *gemeine*, 'common,' 'low in birth'; here, 'low in station.' It is a different word from 'mean' signifying 'moderate,' which is derived from the low Lat. 'medianus,' Fr. 'moyen.' [10] **In their rising**: Cf. *Essay* xi. l. 113, 'and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is *in the rising*, and to balance himself when he is placed.' [11] **Were**, &c.: Cf. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 352.

P. 76. [14] **Which**, &c.: From the Latin it would seem that

'which' means, not (as might be supposed) 'which faction,' but 'which man.' [14] **Give**th: Where we use *make way*; so *Hamlet*, iv. 6. 32 (Quartos *make*). **Eat**: 'paves a kind of path to office through the midst of factions.' Compare the modern nautical phrase, '*Give way*,' [36] **Thinking**, &c.: This is of a piece with Bacon's low views of human nature, and with his undue estimation of youth, so that he cannot make allowance for the natural development from youthful rawness. Two of our modern statesmen would disprove Bacon's 'belike.' [36] **Belike**: In all likelihood; cf. *belyue* or *beline*, i.e. *by life, with life*, quickly. [37] **Purchase**: Prob. Act., not Pass.; 'for acquiring something new,' not 'to be bought again.' See *Essay* xxxvii. l. 40, note. [38] **It**: 'The palm.' Cf. the use of 'bear it,' *Essay* xxvi. l. 23.

P. 77. [39] **Casteth them**: The metaphor seems to be taken from 'the *casting-weight*,' Pope, *P.* S. 177, which *casts* down permanently one scale in the balance. A sheep (Halliwell) or horse was said to be cast when *permanently* thrown down. Cf. the *casting vote*. [51] **Tanquam**, &c.: 'As though he were one of us,' i.e. the commons. Cf. Machiavelli, *Discourses*, iii. 27, 'For, said he, if in France any man should pronounce himself of the King's party, he would be sure to be punished, because it would imply that there was a party against the king.' [52] **League**: See *Essay* xv. l. 42. [59] **Primum Mobile**: See *Essay* xv. l. 52. "

LII

Of Ceremonies and Respects

The Edition of 1612 generally resembles that of 1597; but adds ll. 42-50, 'men—finds.'

The following are the *Antitheta* :—

FOR

AGAINST.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. A graceful control of face and
man gives the true relish to
virtue. | 2. What is more ungraceful than
to foist the stage into life, |
|--|--|

2. If even in words we obey public opinion, why not in carriage and mien?
3. The man that disregards decorum in trifling matters of daily life may be a great man, but you may be sure he is not a wise man, except at intervals.
4. Virtue and wisdom, without ceremony, are like foreign tongues, not generally understood.
5. If a man does not turn the feelings of people by force of sympathy, and cannot find them out by force of observation, he is of all men most foolish.
6. Ceremony is but a translation of virtue into the vernacular.
2. What is natural is graceful; what is artificial, hateful.
3. Better paint your cheeks and curl your hair, than paint and curl your manners.
4. The man that can bow his mind to petty observations is not capable of great thoughts.
5. Affectation is the shining putrefaction of frankness.

[Good manners are continually in use, and may be called perpetual letters of introduction, 1-12. Behaviour should be observed, not studied. Disregard of ceremony excites offence: over-regard, suspicion. Aim at the mean, 13-28. Be ceremonious with equals, familiar with inferiors, cheap with none. Clear your advances from suspicion of flattery, and in seconding another, manifest your independence, 29-41. A wise man will avoid the reputation of being a mere courtier; and instead of waiting for seasons, he will often make seasons, wearing his Behaviour easily, like his apparel, 42-52.]

P. 78. [2] **Stone**: Cf. *Essay* xliii. 1. [11] **Isabella**: The Lat. adds 'of Castile.' Mr. Wright quotes from *Apoph. Hisp. collecta a Ger. Tuningio*, 1609 and compares Publ. Syri *Sent.* 'formosa facies muta commendatio est,' 'a beautiful face is a silent commendation.'

P. 79. [21] **Again**: 'In return'; Lat. 'erga te,' 'towards you.' [23] **Formal**: 'That stand upon forms'; the Lat. has 'ingenio fastidiosus,' 'of fastidious disposition.' The word suggests pomposity. The 'justice,' *As You Like It*, ii. 7. 155, with 'beard of formal cut,' is 'full of wise saws and modern instances'; and Mr. Hales quotes from the *Two Angry Women of Abington*, 'This

formal foot, your man, speaks nought but proverbs.' [26] **There is, &c.** The Latin has 'There is undoubtedly a kind of artificial method of insinuation in the mere utterance of words while paying the ordinary compliments, which certainly captivates people, and wonderfully influences them; and this is of singular use, if one can but learn the trick of it.' ('Est procul dubio modus artificiosæ cujusdam insinuationis in verbis ipsis, inter formulas communes, qui homines revera inescat et mirifice afficit; qui eximie alicui prodest si quis ejus viam calleat.') This may be illustrated by Bacon's advice to Essex: 'When at any time your lordship upon occasion happen in speeches to do her Majesty right (for there is no such matter as flattery amongst you all), I fear you handle it *magis in speciem adornatis verbis quam ut sentire videaris*, so that a man may read formality in your countenance; whereas your lordship should do it familiarly *et oratione fida*,' *Life*, vol. ii. p. 42, and Introduction, p. xlv.

P. 80. [36] **Facility**: Readiness to receive new impressions—hence love of new acquaintances; see Introduction, p. xlvii. [36] **It is, &c.**: The connection appears to be, 'In order to show you do not flatter, manifest some independence whenever you second anyone.' [42] **Perfect, &c.**: Lat. 'You must take care not to get a reputation for being a master in compliments and ceremonies.' [43] **Never**: This is abbreviated for 'be they so sufficient (as) never (before)'. [46] **Respects**: Used here, as in the title of the Essay, for demonstrations of regard or respect. It is sometimes (Schmidt), but not often, used in Shakespeare of 'becoming deportment,' as in 2 *Henry IV.* ii. 2, 109; *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 2, 200. [46] **Curious**: as usual, means careful. [47] **Salomon**: Eccl. xi. 4. [50] **Behaviour**: Cf. *Works*, iii. 447, 'There is no greater impediment of action than an over-curious observance of decency' (i.e. grace), 'and the guide of decency, which is time and season. Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion, it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and, above all, it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion.' [51] **Point device**: Nares has the following note on this phrase: 'Precise or nice to excess. It is difficult to ascertain the origin of this phrase. It appears like French, but I can find no authority in that language for a *point device*, though it is perfectly analogous to

a *point nommé*, which is a very current form.' Compare *As You Like It*, iii. 2. 401, 'You are no such man (i.e. not a careless lover); you are rather *point device* in your accoutrements.'

LIII

Of Praise

The Edition of 1612 does not contain II. 34-38, 'inasmuch—lie;' II. 44-57.

The *Antitheta* are as follows:—

- | FOR. | AGAINST. |
|---|--|
| 1. Praise is the reflection of virtue. | 1. Fame is a bad messenger, but a worse judge. |
| 2. Praise is the honour that comes by a spontaneous suffrage. | 2. What has a good man to do with the slaver of the mob? |
| 3. Honours are bestowed by many different states; but praises are everywhere the peculiar gift of liberty. | 3. Fame, like a river, raises what is light, and lets everything solid sink. |
| 4. The voice of the people has something divine in it. For how else could so many heads join for one purpose. | 4. Common people have praise for the lowest virtues, admiration for the middle, but for the highest no sense at all. |
| 5. Wonder not if common people speak more truthfully than the great; for the former speak more safely. | 5. Praise depends more on ostentation than on desert, and favours tumid impostures more than realities. |

[Praise is the reflection of virtue, and varies with the reflecting medium: from the common people it is worthless, from persons of judgment and dignity it is, like ointment, sweet and durable, 1-16. Praises proceed sometimes from flattery; sometimes from a desire to stimulate or even to injure the persons praised. Immoderate praise is, though unintentionally, an injury, 17-43. A man cannot decently praise himself, but he may his profession: as the insolent cardinals praise themselves by disparaging others, and even St. Paul makes no apology for *magnifying his apostleship*, 44-57.]

P. 81. [1] **But it, &c.** : i.e. 'But it varies with the reflecting medium, and it more or less distorts the beauty of the original.' [5] **Not** : Goes with 'understand'; 'have no understanding of many of the best virtues'; see Introduction, cxlvii. [9] **Species, &c.** : 'Appearances resembling virtues.' [12] **Quality** : Possibly here 'distinction' in any sense; Lat. 'dignitatis.' But mostly used of the distinction of high birth; cf. *Hen. V.* iv. 8. 95. [13] **Scripture, &c.** : *Ecc.* vii. 1. [20] **Have, &c.** : 'Will have ready for use certain epithets common to you and to others,' &c. [22] **Arch-flatterer** : Cf. *Essay* xxvii. l. 180.

P. 82. [18] **Suspect** : As Phocion did (North, p. 625); who, when his speech met with unanimous praise and approval from the Athenian assembly, said, 'Alas! hath not some evil thing slipped my mouth unawares?' For the use of the noun, cf. *Essay* xxiv. l. 40. [26] **Out of, &c.** : Ashamed, dashed from his ordinary look of complacency; cf. *Essay* xliii. l. 38. [27] **Spretu, &c.** : 'The flatterer will praise you, scorning and defying your own consciousness of your defects.' [30] **Laudando, &c.** : 'To praise by teaching.' Mr. Wright quotes a similar passage from Pliny's *Letters*, iii. 18, 'To teach a ruler what he should be is a task noble indeed, but onerous, and almost presumptuous; but to praise a worthy ruler, and thereby to hold out, as from a watch-tower, a torch to guide the steps of posterity, this is equally useful and yet has no touch of arrogance.' [33] **Pessimu, &c.** : Tac. *Agricola*, 43, 'The cause of Agricola's peril lay not in any charge or complaint of having injured anybody, but in an emperor who was a foe to virtue, in his own renown, and in that worst class of enemies—the men that praise.' [36] **Push** : So in Theocritus, *Idylls*, xij. 24; but in *ib.* ix. 30, it is 'a blister on the tongue.' [36] **Should** : Not in the sense of 'ought,' but apparently used to express an opinion not entertained by, but quoted by, the writer. So *Life*, iii. p. 147, 'I hear it *should* be talked about that while my Lord was in Ireland, I revealed some matter against him'; *ib.* p. 148, 'Cousin, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you *should* do some ill office to my Lord of Essex'; cf. *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 328. [37] **One's** : When a Noun or Pronoun is emphasised by being made antecedent of a Rel. Pr., we seldom use the Possess. Inflex. with the antecedent. But Shakespeare often thus uses *his*; *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 218. [40] **Salomon** : *Prov.* xxvii. 14. [45] **To praise** : As for praising, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 356. [46] **Magnanimity** :

Because in extolling one's profession one disparages oneself by implication, as its unworthy representative. [52] **Catch-poles**: i.e. *catching* and *polling* clerks; see *Essay* lvi. l. 96.

P. 83. [54] **More good**: The Latin softens this, 'and yet, if one duly weighs matters, it will be found that high speculation is not amiss, mixed with political action.' [56] **Saith**: Lat. 'he does not fear to say.'

LIV

Of Vain-glory

The Edition of 1612 does not contain ll. 16-21, 'that—both'; ll. 26-28, 'in—another'; ll. 32-35, 'in fame—ostentation'; ll. 59-61.

[Vain-glory must needs be factious, violent, and futile. Yet in civil affairs it is useful for producing rumours; in wars and dangers it is necessary for the purpose of stimulating action; and on learning it bestows fame, 1-42. I am speaking of the lawful arts of ostentation, which proceed not from vanity, but from magnanimity and discretion, e.g. the art of commending oneself by commending rivals. Vain-glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts, 42-61.]

P. 84. [4] **Alone**, &c.: i.e. Whatever moves either by itself or through some means more powerful than the vain-glorious persons. [5] **Never**: For the idiom, see note on *Essay* lii. l. 43. [6] **It**: Does not denote the object that 'goeth alone,' but is used indefinitely (as in 'bear it,' *Essay* xxvi. 23), so that the phrase means 'carry the day.' Cf. *Coriolanus*, ii. 2. 4, and Schmidt gives nine other instances. It is fair to say, however, that the Lat. trans. takes it literally, 'turn (vertere) the whole machine.' But 'carry' does not mean 'turn,' and the Latin trans. sometimes mistakes vernacular English; see *Essay* xxii. 88. [6] **Glorious**: Boastful; see *Essay* xlviii. l. 12. [7] **Bravery**: Boasting (see *Essay* xi. l. 54) stands upon, i.e. depends on, comparisons. No one can boast without raising himself above his neighbours. [12] **Civil**: As opposed to military in l. 26 below. [14] **Livius**: The reference generally given is xxxvii. 48, but it is more likely to be xxxv. 12.

P. 85. [21] **Pretending** : As Alcibiades did, playing off the Athenians and Tissaphernes against one another. [24] **Opinion** : Sometimes (though by no means always) used by Shakespeare in a bad sense, as of arrogance : 'pride, haughtiness, *opinion*, and disdain,' 1 *Hen. IV.* iii. 1. 185; and of popular, ill-grounded notions, 'this fool gudgeon, this *opinion*,' *Merchant of Venice*, i. 1. 102; and so it is used here. [26] **Military** : Cf. *Essay* xxxvi. 23. [29] **Upon**, &c. : i.e. 'Subject to expense and risk.' [29] **Composition** : Apparently a 'combination,' the derivation and use of this word seem to forbid our interpreting it as 'admixture.' [33] **Qui de**, &c. : Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. The original, after showing that poets and sculptors have desired fame, continues : 'Then as to our philosophers, in the very books that they write about the duty of despising glory, do they not write their own names on the title-page?' [34] **Socrates**, &c. : Bacon appears to class Socrates with Aristotle and Galen as 'deserters of experience, and empty babblers,' *Works*, iii. 531; and is especially indignant with the former for neglecting the researches of the older Greek philosophers, Heraclitus, Democritus, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Empedocles. Compare *Works*, iii. 352, 'And herein I count a little marvel at the philosopher Aristotle, that did proceed in such a spirit of difference and contradiction towards all antiquity, . . . wherein for glory and drawing followers and disciples he took the right course.' See also *Works*, iv. 72-76. The only difference, says Bacon, between the Sophists and Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, &c., was that the latter were 'more pompous and dignified.' When 'on the inundation of barbarians into the Roman Empire human learning had suffered shipwreck, then the systems of Aristotle and Plato, like planks of lighter and less solid material, floated on the waves of time and were preserved.' [35] **Galen** : born at Pergamum A.D. 131. Owing to the absence of opportunities of dissecting human bodies, and the consequent necessity of drawing his inferences from dissections of the lower animals, he made several erroneous inferences. For the explanation of the causes of health and disease he 'had recourse to the doctrine of elements of which he admits four, and from the mixture of these deduces the secondary qualities.' . . . The reputation of Galen was established upon the general reception which his theories met with, and his passion for theorising was so great that he has left us but few good descriptions of disease. . . . The unbounded influence

which the authority of this great and learned physician exercised over the minds of his successors unquestionably contributed to retard the progress of medicine.' Chambers' *Biogr. Dictionary*.

[37] **Beholding** (erroneously printed **beholden** in text): For 'beholden'; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 372. The meaning is, 'Virtue was never so far indebted to human nature that she received her due glory, not through any efforts of her own (i.e. not at first hand), but direct from human nature (i.e. at second hand).'

[38] **His**: For 'its'; see *Essay* xxxvi. l. 4. [39] **Cicero**, &c.: Abundant proof might be given to show the vain-glory of Cicero. He urges the historian Luceius (*Epist. ad Fam.* v. 12) to make the most of his achievements, and to devote to them a separate treatise. 'I beg you most earnestly to embellish my deeds, even though you pass the limits of your own judgment, and herein to neglect the rules of history.' But the works of Luceius have perished, and Cicero owes his fame rather to his eloquence than to this or other specimens of vain-glory. [39] **Seneca**: is perhaps accused of 'ostentation,' because, after applying himself to Natural Philosophy, he deserted it for the more lucrative pursuit of politics, in which he amassed nearly two and a half millions of our money. But possibly Bacon may be referring to the grandiose nature of Seneca's style. Cf. *Essay* v. ll. 1 and 7. [39] **Plinius**: the Younger; he is accused of 'ostentation,' perhaps as contrasted with Pliny the Elder, his uncle, and father by adoption, because, while the latter devoted himself to Natural History, the former studied rhetoric, and left no works behind him but *Epistles* and a *Panegyric upon Trajan*. [41] **Seelings**: That which *seeled* or *sealed* apertures in a room so as to keep out the draughts. The word was applied (1) to the planking of a floor; (2) to the wainscoting of the sides; (3) to the roof or 'upper seeling.' We now apply the word 'ceiling' to none but (3) the 'upper seeling.' The modern spelling has probably arisen from an erroneous notion that the word is derived from Fr. *ciel*, tilt, canopy, tester' (Wedgwood). [44] **Tacitus**: *Histories*, ii. 80: 'He had a kind of art of setting forth to the best advantage all that he had said or done.' The original is 'diceret ageretque,' and it seems to refer specially to the rhetorical skill of Mucianus. [49] **Cessions**: i.e. concessions. [51] **Plinius**: *Letters*, vi. 17; loosely quoted, 'wittily' means 'ingeniously.'

B. 86. [56] **In that**: i.e. 'In that (which) you commend.' For the thought, cf. *Essay* xxxii. l. 41. [59] **Glorious**: See l. 6, above.

LV

Of Honour and Reputation

This Essay, though omitted in the Edition of 1612 A.D., is contained in the MS. of that edition.

[To win honour—which is the mean between obscuring honour and straining after honour—let a man be the first to perform some great work : let him content all classes : avoid disgraceful failures ; out-shoot competitors with their own bow ; entertain discreet servants ; and give glory rather to Providence than to himself, 1-28. The degrees of honour are, first, among sovereigns, (1) founders, (2) legislators, (3) liberators, (4) defenders or enlargers of the empire, (5) good kings ; secondly, among subjects, (1) partners of the royal cares, (2) great generals, (3) favourites, (4) competent officers of state. A rare honour is that of dying by self-devotion for one's country, 28-63.]

P. 87. [1] **Winning** : The Latin has 'the true and properly so-called winning of honour,' and the MS. inserts 'true' before 'winning.' The meaning is, 'some people give an exaggerated impression ; others give an impaired impression, of their merits : the true winning of honour consists in giving an impression not exaggerated, but also not impaired ;' i.e. 'without disadvantage.' [3] **Affect** : Here and in l. 11, 'aim at,' Lat. 'venantur,' 'hunt after ;' cf. Essay i. l. 3.

P. 88. [13] **Temper** : Mix ; i.e. 'blending actions that please the rich with actions that please the poor, and so of other classes. [15] **Husband** : First, 'house-worker' (*hand* being connected with the German *bauen*, and derived from the old verb *buan*, to inhabit) ; then, 'the manager of a house ;' then, the manager of anything, with a notion of thrift and care. The word *economist* is exactly similar in derivation and meaning. [19] **Broken** : I cannot find another instance of 'breaking honour upon a person.' Either (1) 'broken' is here used for 'gained,' and is the Pass. Partic. of 'to broke ;' or (2), it is a short way for saying, 'honour that is gained by breaking, as it were, a lance upon an antagonist, or breaking on (as breakers) in the sense of *encroaching on others* ;' or (3), which is perhaps best, honour is used in two senses, first of praise which is *gained* ; but secondly of a man's reputation or character, which, without competition, remains an uncut and dull diamond, but, by sharp collisions with competitors,

is broken into sparkling facets. • The Latin has 'honour that is comparative and depresses others.' Compare, as an illustration of Bacon's carrying his own counsels into effect, the passage in his *Diary*, 1608 A.D., *Life*, vol. iv. p. 46, in which he records a resolution, 'To win credit compare to the attorney, in being more short, round, and resolute.' See Introduction, p. xlix. [23] **Onpais**: 'All one's reputation flows from the talk of one's household.' Q. Cic. *De Petit. Consul.* v. 17 (W.) Compare the saying, 'No man is a hero to his valet,' and Hegel's criticism on it: 'The reason is, not that the one is not a hero, but that the other is a valet.' [25] **Declaring**: Making clear (not, as in modern English, 'asserting'). The Latin has 'if a man is seen to set this object before himself;' so the meaning is 'by making it clear by his objects (ends) that he seeks merit, &c.' [28] **Felicity**: See *Essay* xl. l. 43. [29] **Marshalling**, &c.: Machiavelli has a different 'marshalling,' *Discourses*, i. 10: 'Among all excellent and illustrious men, they are most praiseworthy who have been the chief, establishers of religious and divine worship; in the second place, are they who have laid the foundations of any kingdom or commonwealth; in the third, those who, having the command of great armies, have enlarged their own or the dominion of their country; in the next, learned men of all sciences, according to their several studies and degrees; and last of all (as being infinitely the greatest number), come the artificers and mechanics, all to be commended, as they are ingenious or skilful in their professions.' [30] **Are**: A common construction; see *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 412. [32] **Ottoman**: Ottoman I., born A.D. 1259, the founder of the dynasty now reigning at Constantinople. From him the Turkish empire is said to have received the appellation of 'Ottoman Porte.' [32] **Ismael**: The 'Sophy of Persia,' see *Essay* xliii. l. 12. His life is given in North's *Plutarch*, Additions, p. 56.

P. 89. [36] **Badgar**: 'After times looked back fondly to Badgar's Law, as it was called;' see Green's *Short History*, &c., p. 54, where the 'Law' is described. [36] **Alphonsus**: Mr. Wright quotes from Bacon's miscellaneous works, 'Alphonso the Wise (the ninth of that name), King of Castile, compiled the Digest of the Laws of Spain intituled the *Siete Partidas*, an excellent work, which he finished in seven years.' *Siete Partidas*, 'seven parts.' [41] **Vespasianus**: Delivered the empire from the civil wars that followed the death of Nero. [41] **Aurelianus**: Emperor

in 270 A.D., repelled the Suevi, defeated the Marcomanni, regained the obedience of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and conquered Zenobia. But perhaps Bacon may mean the good Aurelius, associated as emperor in 161 A.D., who was seven times saluted as Imperator for his victories. [41] **Theodoricus**: With the imperial sanction, liberated Italy from the dominion of Odoacer, 493 A.D., and was acknowledged King of Italy. [42] **Fourth**: Ended the long wars between the Romanists and Protestants in France, and signed the Edict of Nantes, 1598. [55] **Favourites**: It might be thought that the low place assigned to *favourites* here would have displeased Buckingham. We have seen that, in *Essay* xxxvi. l. 42, Bacon advocates the political utility of *favourites* in a higher sense than here; and (*Essay* xx. l. 61) he left unpublished a contrast in the MS. between 'Councils of State to which Princes are [solemnly] married,' and 'Councils of gracious persons recommended chiefly by flattery and affection,' probably because the contrast would have offended Buckingham. The explanation of the low place of *favourites* here is probably to be found in the fact that Bacon would call Buckingham, and Buckingham would call himself, not a mere *favourite*, but a *particeps curarum*. It is true that in 1616 Bacon (*Life*, vi. 14) says to Buckingham, 'You are now the King's *favourite*, so voted and so esteemed by all.' But in his exposition of the duties of a *favourite* Bacon declares that a *favourite* is the King's shadow, the first of the King's ministers in the royal eye, and 'a continual sentinel to give him true intelligence.' It would appear, therefore, that in this formal list of the degrees of honour, Bacon purposely avoids using the word *favourite* (which was gradually assuming an invidious signification) to denote the position that would be claimed by Buckingham: and he explains the low sense in which he uses the term in such a way as to show that he could not be referring to his patron, who is included in the first class—the ministers, or 'right hands' of the Prince.

P. 90. [63] **Regulus**: Said to have persuaded his countrymen at Rome to refuse an exchange of prisoners, with this result that, instead of being liberated, he voluntarily returned to his Carthaginian prison, where he was tortured to death. See Horace, *Odes*, iii. 5. But the story of the torture rests on very doubtful evidence. [63] **Decii**: Devoted themselves to death in battle, one in 340 B.C., the other in 295 B.C.; cf. Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 825.

LVI

Of Judicature

The *Antitheta* on the Words of the Law are:—

- | • FOR. | AGAINST. |
|---|--|
| 1. Once quit the letter of the law, and you become a conjecturer, not an interpreter. | 1. The sense of single words must be gathered from the sense of the whole passage. |
| 2. Quitting the letter of the law, the judge transforms himself into a law-giver. | 2. The worst tyranny is the tyranny that tortures law. |

This Essay may be illustrated by Bacon's *Speech to Justice Hutton, Life*, vi. p. 201; see also Introduction, pp. cxxv. cxxvi.

[Judges are the interpreters of law; they should possess the sober rather than the brilliant virtues; especially must they have integrity. A single unjust judge is a fountain of evils, 1-18. In his dealings with suitors, a judge should avoid delays, and suppress fraud, litigation, and oppression; he should never strain laws nor revive obsolete penalties, but should look mercifully on the offender, though severely on the example of the offence, 23-54. Towards the advocates he should show patience and attention, without any touch of vanity; he must be dignified and impartial, alive to ability and to misconduct, never wrangling and yet never domineering, 54-89. As for the hangers-on of the court, he must control them, whether they be sowers of suits between individuals or of quarrels between courts, or whether they be perverters of justice or exactors of fees; but let him respect tried and able servants, 89-116. As to the Sovereign and the State, he must remember that the law has their safety for its object, and that cases directly interesting none but individuals may indirectly be of public interest. Policy is to law what the spirit is to the sinews; judges are lions, but lions under Solomon's throne. Yet they have a high responsibility, the lawful use of law, 117-141.]

P. 91. [6] **Pronounce**: Here, to speak solemnly or officially; used of oracles, spirits, and especially of judges, *Macbeth*, v. 3. 5; *Coriolanus*, iii. 1. 209; *Macbeth*, i. 2. 64. [6] **By show**: Lat. 'prætextu,' 'by means of the pretext.' We generally say 'under, not by, the guise or show.' [8] **Witty**: Ingenious; see *Essay* liv. l. 54. [8] **Plausible**: 'More to be revered than to be applauded.' Here, slightly deviating from the ordinary Elizabethan meaning, 'fit to be applauded,' the word approaches the modern meaning, 'likely to be applauded (unreasonably).' [9] **Advised**: Lat.

'delibefativum,' 'deliberate;' see *Essay* xviii. l. 75. [11] **Law**: *Deut.* xxvii. 17. [12] **Mere-stone**: 'Boundary stone.' Nares gives also 'mere-tree,' and quotes Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, iii. 9. 46, using the old word 'meare' (A.-S. *meare* or *gemære*)—

And Hygate made the *meare* thereof by west.

[13] **Capital**: 'Chief.' [17] **Salomon**: *Prov.* xxv. 26, 'A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain and corrupt spring.'

P. 92. [24] **Scripture**: *Amos* v. 7. [36] **To make**: Not, as in modern English, but 'in making,' *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 356. [38] **Qui**, &c.: *Prov.* xxx. 33, 'The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood.' [42] **Torture**: See *Antitheta* above. [46] **Pluet**, &c.: 'He shall rain snares upon them,' *Psalms* xi. 6. [49] **Of long**: i.e. *From* a long time back, *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 167. [50] **Judicis**, &c.: 'It is a judge's business (to note) not only facts, but the circumstances of the facts.'

" P. 93. [57] **Well-tuned**: *Psalms* cl., 'Praise him upon the *well-tuned cymbals*; praise him upon the *loud cymbals*.' There appears to be an implied contrast between a *loud* judge and a *well-tuned* judge. [60] **Quickness**: *Works*, vi. p. 202, 'That you affect not the opinion of pregnancy and expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar.' [60] **Conceit**: Conception, understanding; cf. *Essay* vi. l. 105. [63] **Direct the evidence**: 'This is a vague phrase and capable of a sinister construction, especially when read by the light of the judicial records of the seventeenth century. But it may point to the growing importance which began to be attached, about Bacon's time, to the function of the judge as the depository of the laws of evidence. The necessity for such laws was only just discovered, and was due to the separation (which now began to be established) between the offices of juror and witness (see Coke, *Inst.* iii. 163.)'¹ [67] **Glory**: Vain-glory. [68] **Willingness**: Wishfulness. [68] **To hear**: In hearing, *Sh. Grammar*, 356. [69] **Equal**: Equable, continuous, steady; Lat. 'æquabilis.' [79] **Obtaineth**: 'Wins;' in Lat. the word meant 'keeps.' Hence, 'keeps its ground,' or, as here, 'wins.' We still speak of a report's *obtaining* in this sense.

¹ For this note, as for several others, I am indebted to Mr. H. H. Asquith, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

[81] **Conceit** : Here apparently used almost in the modern sense. The Lat. has 'opinion.' See l. 60 above. [82] **Civil** : Here used apparently in the modern sense. Lat. 'moderata.' [85] **Chop** : 'Change or bandy words with ;' see *Essay* xxxiv. l. 68.

P. 94. [92] **Foot-pace** : A 'foot-pace' is (Nares) a mat, and here it seems to mean the carpet or raised floor on which the seat of justice is placed. [93] **Purprise** : 'Border ;' perhaps the margin *taken before* a town or building, all round it, *pro prensu*. [97] **Polling** : Originally 'cutting the hair from the head or poll ;' hence 'stripping,' 'plundering.' 'Catch-pole' seems to be derived from 'catching' and 'polling.' [102] **Jurisdiction** : Such quarrels occupy a prominent place in Bacon's mind, owing to Coke's having encouraged an indictment of *præmunire* against the officers of the Chancery for giving relief in equity after judgment in the King's Bench, *Life*, v. 246. Cf. *Life*, vi. 36, 'The harmony of justice is then the sweetest when there is no jarring about the jurisdiction of their courts ; which methinks wise men cannot differ upon, their true bounds are for the most part so truly known.' [102] **Amici**, &c. : 'Not truly friends of the Court, but parasites of the Court.' [109] **Poller** : see l. 97 above. [119] **Tables** : 'Not in the laws of the Twelve Tables, but in Cicero, *De Legibus*. iii. 3. 8 (W.)' For a description of their contents, first published in 449 B.C., see *Dict. of Antiquities*, *Lex Duodecim Tabularum*.

P. 95. [124] **Consult**, &c. : See Introduction, p. cxxvi., for Bacon's opposition to Coke in a matter of this kind. But Sir Thomas More (*Utopia*, p. 60, Arber's reprint) seems to have condemned Bacon by anticipation : 'Another giueth the kyngs counsel to endaunger vnto his grace the judges of the Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his side, and that they maye in euery matter dispute and reason for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shal be no matter of his so openlye wronge and vnjuste, wherein one or other of them . . . wil not fynde some hole open to set a snare in . . . Then the judges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges side.' [129] **Reason** : The Latin omits 'reason,' and has 'the consequence thereof may trench to reasons of State.' Either 'reason' is out of place, or it means (like the Latin word 'ratio') the 'principle.' [136] **That** : 'So that.' Or else, if 'that' is a Pronoun, it may be irregularly put for 'which move with one another,' the full con-

struction being, 'which move—one moves with the other,' *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 248. Compare *Essay* xxii. l. 59. [137] **Lions**: *Life*, vol. vi. p. 202, 'Remember with yourself that the twelve Judges of the realm are as the twelve lions under Salomon's throne; they must be lions, but yet lions under the throne; they must show their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the throne.' To appreciate the full force of this metaphor, we must remember Bacon's 'Salomon' was the monarch who said: 'Do I mak the judges? Do I mak the bishops? Then, God's wauns, I mak what likes me much, both Law and Gospel.' [144] **The Apostle**: 1 *Tim.* i. 8.

This Essay contains nothing about the use of the 'torture,' except the implied condemnation in the words 'there is no worse torture than the torture of Laws.' Of Bacon's conduct in the torture of Peacham Mr. Wright says (*Adv. of Learning*, p. xxxv.), 'There is proof in his own letters that he engaged in the proceeding with reluctance, and that the step was taken against his advice.' It would be pleasant to be able to assent to this charitable verdict. But in the year 1619 we find Bacon writing to the King (*Life*, vol. vii. p. 77), 'If it may not be done otherwise, it is fit Peacock be put to torture. He *deserveth it as well as Peacham did.*' This seems manifest approval; I have not been able to find evidence of reluctance.

LVII.

Of Anger

[Anger is to be limited—since it is a Stoical boast to talk of extinguishing it. The habit of anger may be mitigated by ruminating on its effects, and on its effeminacy. If angry, men must feel the anger of scorn and not of fear, 1-25. The causes of anger are sensitiveness, suspicion of contempt, and of loss of reputation. The remedy for the last cause is to have a reputation of stout texture, and, generally, to persuade oneself that revenge can be gained by delay, 26-45. If you must be angry, avoid saying or doing anything that may irreparably mar business. To raise or appease anger, choose a man's irritable or calmer moments, and rouse or lull in him the suspicion of contempt, 45-65.]

Anger is used, throughout this Essay, in the only sense in which the ancients recognised it—as the passionate feeling excited by

wrongs done to *oneself*, 'a short madness.' Bacon does not touch on the virtuous anger (called by Bishop Butler 'resentment'), excited not by wrong done to *oneself*, but by *wrong*.¹ Of this virtue Bacon seldom or never speaks, nor does he appear to have formed a clear conception of it. To him, then, Anger is a natural imperfection, to be checked but winked at, like Usury, 'for the hardness of men's hearts.' See Introduction, p. cxlviii. Note the Machiavellian view—of men as instruments, and policy as a game of chess—in the instructions how to (l. 55) *raise anger in another*. See Introduction cxxxvii.

P. 96. [1] **Bravery**: 'An ostentatious attempt;' see *Essay* xi. l. 54. [2] **Stoics**: See Note on *Essay* v. l. 2. [2] **Oracles**: *Epist. Ephes.* ii. 6. [4] **Race and in time**: The Latin has 'quousque et quamdiu,' 'how far and how long.' Hence 'race' may possibly mean 'course,' 'scope.' Or is it a misprint for 'place?' [14] **Seneca**: *De Ira*, i. 1. (W.); 'upon that (upon which) it falls.' [15] **Scripture**: *Luke* xxi. 19. [18] **Animasque**, &c.: 'And they spend their lives in the wound.' Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 238.

P. 97. [21] **Men**: There is an emphasis on *men* as distinguished from *women* above. 'Only' seems to mean 'at all events if they must be angry.' The Lat. has, 'So, if they happen to be angry, men (if at least they intend to remember their dignity) must beware,' &c. [32] **Construction**: Interpretation. [38] **Of the touch**, &c.: 'The opinion that one's reputation is touched or tainted by the insult.' Compare 'speech of touch,' *Essay* xxxii. l. 49. [40] **Consalvo** (erroneously printed **Gonsalvo** in text): Gonzalo; Hernandez de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, was born near Montilla in 1453. He was the cause of the capture of Granada, and expelled the French from Naples in 1497; he died, neglected by Ferdinand, in 1515. In his charge touching duels (1613 A.D.) Bacon says, 'it were good that men did harken unto the saying of Consalvo, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, a gentleman's honour should be de tela crassiore, of a good strong warp or web, that every little thing should not catch in it.' In 1613 A.D., Chamberlain, speaking of 'the many private quarrels of great men,' mentions five recent or impending

¹ See also the account of θυμός, Plato, *Rep.* 440. C. seq. The educated θυμός of the Platonic *ἐπίκουροι* is almost exactly Butler's settled resentment in a military dress.

duels among the nobility. In 1616 A.D., Bacon quotes the king as saying (*Life*, vol. vi. p. 109), 'I come forth and see myself nobly attended, but I know not whether any of them shall live four-and-twenty hours.' [46] **Contain**: Hold back. [49] **Proper**: 'Proper or peculiar to one person,' i.e. 'personal.' The Lat. has 'peculiar to him whom we are assailing.'

LVIII *

Of Vicissitudes of Things

Machiavelli (*Discourses*, ii. 5) has a section on the thesis that 'The variations of Religions and Languages, with the accidents of Deluges and Plagues, have been the cause that many great things are forgotten.'

* [All novelty is but oblivion. In the perpetual flux of matter, the great winding-sheets of oblivion are not such partial calamities as conflagrations and droughts, but deluges and earthquakes, which, sparing none but the ignorant inhabitants of the mountains, leave none to describe the past; as probably happened in some deluge of the West Indies. The jealousy of sects is rarely a cause of oblivion, 1-45. Some vast and complete revolution of the heavenly bodies might possibly bring about, not an exact, but a general recurrence of things; and the influence of comets awaits investigation. In weather there appears probability of recurrence, 45-60. Sects arise in quarrelsome, irreligious, and ignorant times; but they do not affect the State, as long as they are speculative and not practically popular. They are spread by signs, persuasion, and force; and are best met by reformation of abuses and by conciliation, 60-106. Wars seemed to move from east to west; but it is safer to say, from the more martial north to the south. They naturally follow the decay and increase of empires. the improvident multiplication of barbarous populations, and the degeneration of a warlike state, 107-151. Weapons, e.g. fire-arms, recur, the points of improvement being range, force, and commodiousness, 151-171. The conduct of war has tended to increase trust in art rather than in numbers, 172-180. States, too, have their youth and age, and so has learning. The thought of such revolutions makes us giddy; existing descriptions of them are fabulous and worthless, 180-192.]

P. 99. [1] **Salomon**: *Eccl.* i. 9. [2] **Plato**: *Phædo*, 72 E. [3] **Sentence**: Used now of a condemnation, but once of any authoritative statement. The Lat. *sententia* meant 'opinion.' [5] **Lethe**: i.e. Besides the fabulous river of Lethe from which the ghosts drank oblivion in the infernal regions, there is also a power of oblivion above. [6] **Astrologer**: I do not know who is meant. The Lat. has an 'abstruse and little-known astrologer.'

[12] **The matter** : i.e. 'The well-known element called matter;' so 'the land,' 'the air.' [15] **Merely** : 'Utterly;' see *Essay* iii. l. 70. [16] **Phaeton** : The child of the sun who aspired to drive his father's chariot and perished in the attempt. See Ovid, *Met.* ii. Perhaps Bacon attaches some physical interpretation to the myth. Otherwise it is hard to understand why he quotes it, apparently as a fact of history. [17] **Elias** : 1 *Kings* xvii. xviii. [18] **Particular** : Partial.

P. 100. [23] **Mountainous** : So Machiavelli, above. [31] **Atlantis** : Plato, *Timæus*, 25 D. [33] **Particular** : Used as in l. 18, above. [36] **Andes** : The word means 'mountains.' [40] **Machiavel** : *Discourses*, ii. 5, 'So diligent and zealous was Saint Gregory and other moderators of the Christian religion in abolishing the superstitions of the Gentiles, that they caused the works of all the poets and historians to be burned which made any mention of them; they threw down their images and idols, and destroyed all that might affect the least memory of paganism.' [45] **Sabinian** : Succeeded Gregory the Great, A.D. 604. Milman (*Latin Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 120) describes the reaction, but also its defeat : 'The old Roman attachment to their majestic edifices, and even to the stately images of their ancient gods, struggling successfully against their Christian reverence for their pontiff, but yielding to the most credulous Christian superstition.' [46] **Globe** : As one speaks of the 'starry sphere,' so Bacon of the 'superior globe,' where 'outer globe' would be more logical. [48] **Great year** : Mr. Wright quotes an extract from Blunderville's *Exercises*, fol. 168 a, ed. 1594. 'The great year is a space of time in the which not only all the planets, but also all the fixed stars that are in the firmament, having ended all their revolutions, do return again to the self-same places in the heavens which they had at the first beginning of the world.' See Plato's *Timæus*, 38; see also Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 5. [49] **Like** : i.e. 'Not in bringing into existence the same individuals as lived at the corresponding time in the last Great Year.' [50] **Fume** : Lat. 'fumus,' 'smoke;' the idle opinion. [51] **Accurate** : 'Finished,' 'exact;' hence, here, 'extending to minute detail.' [51] **Influences** : A technical word of astrology, see *Essay* ix. l. 9.

P. 101. [56] **Respective** : Lat. 'comparativos,' 'having respect or regard to the characteristics of the several comets.' [60] **Toy** : A 'trifle;' so in the Latin. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Regained*.

iv. 328. [61] **Waited upon** : Observed. Cf. our use of 'attend,' and 'attend to.' (64) **Suit** : 'Sequence,' in accordance with the derivation of the word *suivre, sequor*. [67] **It** : Lat. 'this cycle of years they call the prime.' 'I do not know why it is called the *prime*, unless because it was thought the *first* and smallest of the cycles of years, as compared with the century, Plato's Great Year, &c. A *prime* number was so called because numbers not divisible except by themselves and unity were thought *superior* to the rest ; but such a notion of *superiority* could hardly attach to this cycle. [71] **Orbs** : Not the stars, but the starry orbs, or spheres, the highest of which was *Primum Mobile*, that communicated to the planets their several motions. Milton (see note on *Essay* xv. l. 52) calls *Primum Mobile* by the name of the *Prime Orb* that moves the whole of the heavens. Cf. the 'engines of *orbs*' mentioned in *Essay* xvii. l. 29, and the comparison in that *Essay* (l. 21) of superposition to a *Primum Mobile* (i.e. Prime Orb) 'that ravisheth,' i.e., 'hurries along with it all the spheres of government.' *Orbs*, then, is here a metaphor for *motives*. [80] **Be** : Subjunctive, though 'is' above is Indicative, because, owing to the greater distance of 'be' from 'when,' there is a greater necessity to show that a hypothesis is being *subjoined*, not a statement *indicated*. [81] **Doubt** : Suspect, doubt (about). You may use the word according to the context, to mean *doubt the presence of*, or *the absence of* : 'I do not doubt (about) thy faith,' *Pericles* i. 2, III, and 'I doubt (about) some foul play,' *Hamlet* i. 2, 256. [82] **Extravagant**, &c. : Lat. 'intemperans et paradoxa spirans,' 'intemperate and paradoxical.' [86] **Supplanting**, &c. : This explanation seems singularly narrow. It does not account for the spread, for example, of Wesleyanism. But probably Bacon has in his mind the extreme section of the Puritans (see Introduction, p. cv.) and the claims of Rome, ib. p. cxiii. By 'authority' Bacon means 'civil power,' 'imperii sive auctoritatis stabilitæ.' In the 'pleasures and voluptuous life,' Bacon is no doubt referring to Mohammed, but probably also to the Anabaptists ; see note on *Essay* iii. l. 135.

P. 102. [91] **Arminians** : 'We do not remember a line in his works from which it can be inferred that he (Bacon) was either a Calvinist or Arminian,' Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Lord Bacon*. But this passage rather inclines one to suppose that Bacon was not an Arminian. Moreover, a passage in Works, vii. 220, *A Confession of Faith*, sounds rather Calvinistic than Arminian. [93] **Civil** :

Political. But see Milman's *Latin Christianity*, i. 446, for 'the dire and awful tragedy of the history of Visigothic Arianism in Spain.' [113] **Gallo-Græcia**: Galatia, so called from the Galatæi, as the Gauls were called. They invaded Rome about 390 B.C., Asia about 278 B.C. [114] **Certain**, &c.: The meaning seems to be that what we should call westward, some other nation, e.g. the Chinese, might call eastward; and the words 'certainty of observation' seem to mean 'any definite observable law.' The Lat. trans. has, 'But East and West do not determine climates (*Cœli climata non determinant*).' [118] **Northern**, &c.: So Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, i. 1: 'The people which live northward beyond the Rhine and Danube, being born in a healthful and prolific clime, do many times increase to such insupportable numbers that part of them are constrained to abandon their native, in quest of new countries to inhabit.' [121] **Stars**: This suggestion is perhaps the highest tribute paid by Bacon to the power exercised by astrology over the minds of men even in his times. [124] **Cold**: It must not be supposed by this that Bacon was not aware that the South Pole is no less cold than the North Pole. For the Lat. adds, 'As is clear in the case of the Araucanians, who, being placed at the further regions of the South, far surpass in bravery all the Peruvians.'

P. 103. [129] **Enervate**: As in Britain under Rome. But in many cases the shivering of an empire results in the re-assertion of the national spirit. 'All the kings' (after the death of Charles the Great) 'were of the house of the Karlings, save only in the Burgundian land. . . . And the kingdoms which were now (887 A.D.) formed began to answer more nearly to real divisions of nations and languages than had hitherto been the case.' Freeman's *Historical Sketch*, 128. It was not till 887 that the West Franks chose a king not of the family of Charles. And it was not 'enervation,' but rather discord, that enabled the Northmen to break in. [149] **Lot**: Machiavelli, *ib.* 'When any of those provinces are over-charged and disposed to disgorge, the order they observe is, to divide into three parts so equally that each of the three consists of a just proportion of noble and ignoble, rich and poor. After which they cast lots, and that part to whose fortune it falls marches off to new quarters, where they can be found.' [159] **Oxidrakes**: The reference has not been discovered; and Mr. Wright says 'Bacon's memory seems to have been at fault.'

P. 104. [163] **Fetching**: Said to be 'striking;' but how this meaning is derived I do not know. We speak of a gun 'carrying' far, but not 'fetching.' [166] **Arietation**: Battering, derived from Lat. *aries*, a ram, or battering ram. [172] **Did put** - This use of 'did,' not very common with Bacon, seems here suggested by the uninflected nature of the verb 'put.' [173] **Pointing**: Appointing, see *Essay* xlv. 75. [186] **Reduced**: Brought within bounds, condensed. [187] **Exhaust**: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 342. [189] **Philology**: Seems here used for 'history.' Compare Machiavelli, *Discourses*, ii. 5, 'And because in five or six thousand years Religion may be twice or thrice changed, we wonder if what was before be so entirely lost that, if there remain anything of it, it is looked upon as fabulous and incredible, as it happened to the histories of *Diodorus Siculus*, which give an account of forty or fifty thousand years, and are not unworthily accounted false.' Bacon often carries to excess a belief in the superiority of antiquity to modern times: 'Whosoever shall compare the ruins and decaye of ancient towns in this realm with the erections and augmentations of new, cannot but judge that this realm hath been far better peopled in former times, it may be in the Heptarchy,' *Life*, iii. p. 312. We have seen (*Essay* liv. 34, note) how much value he attached to the philosophy of the older Greek philosophers and of the Egyptians. Perhaps, therefore, he has the later Greek philosophy in his mind when he says '*Antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi*,' 'Ancient time is the world's boyhood.'

Of Fame

This fragment was not printed till 1657 A.D.

[Amid the fine imagery with which poets embellish the story of Fame there is much weighty truth, especially the saying that Fame was sister to the giants that rebelled against Jupiter, 1-17. The art of Faming, and the nature of rumours, are subjects of the highest political interest, 18-29. There are a thousand instances to show that rumours have played a great part in wars, and must be supervised no less warily than actions, 30-55.]

P. 105. [2] **Gravely**: 'Weightily.' See *Essay* xvii. l. 25.
[3] **Sententionally**: Used here in a good sense for 'rich in meaning.' Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 1, 3; *As You Like*

It, v. 4, 66; *Rom.* ii. 4, 225, appears to regard this use as affected.

[3] **They say**: Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 175-90. [6] **Flourish**: An embellishment. Cf. *Hamlet*, ii. 2, 91. [6] **Parables**: The word

parable is now narrowed to the parables of the New Testament or similar ones. But the meaning of the word, viz. 'comparison,' entitled it to be used here. [17] **Masculine**, &c.: See *Essay* xv.

l. 15. [19] **Fly**: Used (like *fly at* in *Hamlet*, ii. 2, 450) of starting the falcon after its game. [22] **The politics**: Cf., 'the mathematics,' i.e. *the* science known as mathematics. The insertion of the Article is a Græcism, τὰ πολιτικά, &c. [23] **Place**: Used like the Latin *locus* for a 'topic'; cf. the phrase 'a common-place book.'

l. 106. [26] **Sown**: See Introduction, p. cxlviii. [30]

That—as: *Sh. Grammar*, Par. 280. [32] **Mucianus**: Tacitus, *Histories*, ii. 80. [36] **Cæsar**: *De Bello Civili*, i. 6. In this

passage Pompey states his opinion; but it is not said that Cæsar had originated it. [41] **Livia**: Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 5. [45]

Janizaries: See *Essay* xix. l. 160, note. [47] **Themistocles**:

North's *Plutarch*, p. 102. [54] **The actions**: *The* is inserted perhaps to indicate that actions are a well-known and essential element in government. See *Essay* lviii. l. 12. For the thought, cf. *Essay* xxxv. l. 67.

APPENDIX.



, EARLY EDITIONS OF THE ESSAYS.

THE first edition of the Essays was published in 1597, as part of a small volume containing, beside the Essays, ‘Religious Meditations,’ and ‘Places of Persuasion and Disuasion.’ The Dedication and Table of Contents are subjoined. The date of the dedication (January 1597) would imply—since the civil year then ended on March 24—that the dedication was written at the end of the year 1597. But Mr. Spedding suggests that the publishers probably followed the ‘historical’ year beginning on January 1, and not the ‘civil’ year beginning on March 25. In any case, the Essays were published in January 1597 according to our reckoning, with the following dedication :—

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

To M. Anthony Bacon
his deare Brother.

•*Louing and Beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print ; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation ; to let them passe had beene to aduantage the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it best discretion to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my*

pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Authors. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue playd my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinal. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Silver were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated vpon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so active and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preservation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

FRAN. BACON.

ESSAIES.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Of studie.</i> | 6. <i>Of expence.</i> |
| 2. <i>Of discourse.</i> | 7. <i>Of Regiment of health.</i> |
| 3. <i>Of Ceremonies and respects.</i> | 8. <i>Of Honour and reputation.</i> |
| 4. <i>Of followers and friends.</i> | 9. <i>Of Faction.</i> |
| 5. <i>Sutors.</i> | 10. <i>Of Negotiating.</i> |

The second edition of the Essays was published in 1612. Bacon intended to have dedicated it to Prince Henry; but, on the death of the Prince, he substituted for the dedication to the Prince (which he had already written) a dedication to his brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, who had married Dorothy Barnham, the sister of Lady Bacon. Both dedications, with the table of contents, are subjoined.

*To the most high and excellent Prince Henry, Prince of Wales,
D: of Cornwall and Earle of Chester.*

Yt may please your H.

Having divided my life into the contemplative and active parts, I am desirous to give his M, and yor H. of the fruite of both, simple thoughte they be. To write just Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of yor H: princely affaires, nor in regard of my continuingall service, w^{ch} is the cause, that hath made me choose to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantly, then curiously, w^{ch} I have called ESSAIES. The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Synacæes Epistles to Lucilius, yf one marke them well, are but Essaies,—That is dispersed Meditacons, thoughte conveyed in the forme of Epistles. Theis labors of myne I know cannot be worthie of yor. H: for what can be worthie of you. But my hope is, they may be as graynes of salte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you wth satiety. And althoughe they handle those things wherⁱⁿ both mens Lives and their pens are most conversant yet (What I have attained, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in bookes; so as they are neither repetitious nor fancies. But howsoever, I shall most humbly desier yor. H: to accept them in gracious part, and so contrive that if I cannot rest, but must shewe my dutifull, and devot^{al} affection to yor H: in theis things w^{ch} proceed from my self, I shalbe much more reay to doe it, in performance of yor princely commaundmente; And so wishing yor H: all princely felicitye I rest.

Yor H: most humble

Servant.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

To my loving brother, Sr Iohn Constable Knight.

My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers

this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

THE TABLE.

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| | 39. <i>Of the publike.¹</i> |
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